MEMOIRS

OF

HIS OWN TIME;

INCLUDING

THE REVOLUTION, THE EMPIRE,

AND

THE RESTORATION.

BY

LIEUT.-GEN. COUNT MATHIEU DUMAS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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MEMOIRS

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CHAPTER I.

Arrangements for leaving Paris—Arrest at Yvetot—Embarkation—Arrival in England and residence in that country—Return to France—Residence at Havre—Persecutions during the reign of terror—Flight and escape from France—Arrival in Switzerland—Residence there—The drama entitled, A Night in the Committee of Public Safety—Memorial addressed to the Prince of Saxe Cobourg—Memorial addressed to the Spanish Minister in Switzerland—9th of Thermidor—Return to France—New persecutions.

If, contrary to the voice of my conscience, and deviating from my principles, I had suffered myself to be tempted by the proposals which were made me, and to expect security from my re-election, the salutary warnings of my colleague d'Espinassy would have preserved me from this fault and error. In proportion as we approached the 20th of September, the day appointed for the last sitting of the Assembly, my friend redoubled his vigilance, and assured me that I was watched and followed. He urged me to apply to the president, Cambon, for my passport. The latter, who was my fellow-countryman, notwithstanding all the arguments I could produce, would not yield to my entreaties, and it was not till the day before the dissolution that I succeeded in obtaining it. D'Espinassy told me, that it had been resolved to deliver passports to the members of the constitutional opposition as late as possible because their influence in the departments was feared. He

accompanied me to the passport-office, and said as we entered, "look, but without seeming to do so, at the man who follows us, and who certainly is not a deputy." This individual, whom I particularly noticed, remained in the office till I had signed my passport, and I found him at the door of the hall of the Assembly when I went, for the last time, to obtain the signature of the president.

From that moment I turned all my attention to the means of going in safety to Havre, where I was expected by my family, and whither that of my friend Count Charles Lameth had also repaired. The latter had just incurred great danger. After the departure of his brother Alexander, who, being proscribed at the same time as General Lafayette, had, like him, been forced to quit the army and the French territory, Charles, having obtained leave of absence from Marshal Luckner, was on his way to Havre, when he was arrested at Barentin, and taken to the prison of Rouen. He had fallen into the hands of the same band, which a few days before had arrested and murdered the Duke de la Rochefaucauld, member of the Constituent Assembly, and president of the directory of the department of the Seine. Theodore Lameth with great difficulty succeeded in obtaining from the committee of surveillance a faithful report on this illegal arrest, and it was not till the sitting of the 19th, the day before the dissolution of the Assembly, that the report was presented. Theodore himself supported it with great courage and dignity. The decree merely declared that "the executive power should take such measures as its wisdom should dictate; that M. de Lameth should not be exposed to any act of violence in the place of confinement where he was detained." This was sufficient to protect his brother against the ill-usage with which he was threatened, and the connexion which MM. de Lameth had kept up with Danton, in consequence of some personal services which they had rendered him at the beginning of the revolution, served to obtain the liberty of my brave companion in arms. Being easy, for the moment, respecting the safety of the three brothers, my best friends, I parted from Theodore, who was not personally pursued. I expressed my lively gratitude to my excellent colleague d'Espinassy, and retired to my lodgings at the depôt of the war department, in the Place Vendôme, without perceiving that I was watched. All was ready for my flight. My

brother, Saint Fulcrand, had had a false passport, in the name of an inspector of provisions, made out for me at the commissary's office. My postchaise, with my own horses and my faithful postilion, were waiting for me, with my valet-de-chambre, at the gate Maillot. I stopped at the depôt no longer than was necessary to arrange some papers, which I delivered to my excellent friend Colonel Reynier de Jarjayes, whom I had got appointed adjunct-director, and who was to take my place, and direct during my absence the proceedings of the geographical surveyors. I left the house alone by the back-door, in the Rue Neuve de Luxembourg, reached the Champs-Elisées, was not stopped at the barrier, and met with no interruption till I arrived at the gate Maillot, where I got into my carriage, and was driven with all possible speed to the post of Nanterre, where having exhibited my false passport, I took post-horses, and dismissed my postilion with the horses, which had now become his property. I desired my valet-de-chambre Philip to hasten on, and above all things not to suffer any thing to pass him, to pay the postilions well, and not to get into any quarrel. Notwithstanding this precaution, on arriving at the post of Vernon, about one o'clock in the morning, I heard a loud dispute between Philip and a courier, who had overtaken me, and who, under the pretext that he was travelling by order of the government, compelled the post-master to give him the pony already prepared for my valet. This incident did not much alarm me. However, on arriving at Rouen, instead of alighting at the post-office. I drove to M. le Maître, director of the commissariat, for whom I had a letter of recommendation, and who received me with the greatest kindness. After I had taken two hours' rest, post-horses were brought me, and I proceeded without obstacle to Yvetot.

At that place I was arrested by a post of the national guard, and conducted to the town-hall, where I was told that, like all travellers, I must show myself to have my passport countersigned. On alighting, I perceived at the door an individual whom I recognised to be the same person who had followed me to the passport-office, and whom I had again seen and particularly noticed at the door of the hall of the Assembly. He desired me to go up stairs, and told me that he was the procurator of the commune. He imme-

diately gave orders to assemble the municipal council, sent for the commander of the national guard, and remained with me, affecting an air of gravity, but treating me with great civility. I no longer doubted that I had fallen into a snare. The apartment was soon filled with the municipality and a great number of citizens. Groups of people collected in the market-place. At the desire of the procurator of the commune, I delivered him my passport, as inspector of provisions. He read it aloud, and it was returned to me. "Before we countersign it," said the perfidious procurator, "we must interrogate this citizen; since he takes the road to Havre and perhaps to England, we must be sure whether he is really the person for whom this passport was issued, and if he is not a spy."

I answered very briefly to some insidious questions, and suddenly thinking that it would be more dangerous, and besides unworthy of my character, to continue to feign before a constituted authority, I tore the false passport, threw the fragments on the table, and producing the passport of the Legislative Assembly, made, in a firm tone, a remonstrance, which I required should be inserted in the procès-verbal. "Yes," said I, "it is myself—Mathieu Dumas, member of the Legislative Assembly, whom the crimes of an abominable faction have compelled to descend to such subterfuges for my safety, which, as you see, is no longer protected by the inviolability of the national representation. I am going immediately to join my family, who have lived at Havre for several months. The massacre of the Duke de la Rochefaucauld, the arrest, the proscription of my honourable friends, who, like me, have defended to the utmost of their power the constitution which, like them, you also have sworn to obey, warned me that the faithful execution of the laws no longer afforded me any security. I therefore require you to protect my passage through your commune, and make you responsible for any acts of violence, to which you may suffer me to be exposed." The municipal council, and all the persons present, were mute with surprise. The procurator required that I should be sent back to Paris with a good escort. This was requiring that I should be assassinated. Many murmurs arose on different grounds. Seeing the hesitation of several members of the municipal council, and one of them having observed that two commissioners from the new Convention had just passed on their way to

Havre, on an extraordinary mission, I proposed to write myself to the two commissioners Lacroix and Aréna, formerly my colleagues, to acquaint them with this event, and observed to those who were for sending me immediately back to Paris, that it was but a short delay, and that it would be time enough to take this fatal step, if the commissaries approved it. They deliberated in my presence, and decided that a courier should be sent at my expense, to the two commissioners, and that till their answer was received, I should be closely guarded. I wrote my letter in the office of the municipality. I was placed under the care of the commander of the national guard, who, with a strong escort, led us through the crowd which surrounded the office, and took me to an inn, where I was to await the return of the courier from Havre. Sentinels were placed round the inn, and even in the passage leading to the chamber which I occupied, the door of which remained open. The commander of the national guard did not leave me: he behaved to me with the greatest civility, and I had no difficulty in interesting him, and understood, in the course of our conversation, that if any means of escape depended on him, I might rely on his good services. I passed twenty-four hours in this anxiety, and the next day, about 3 o'clock, we saw Lacroix and Aréna arrive in a berlin, having come in person to release me. As soon as they received the account given by the municipality of Yvetot, as well as my letter, they had not hesitated a moment. They were even so considerate as to go in person, to make my mother-in-law and my wife easy on my account. I was affected, as I ought to be, by this generous conduct. Lacroix, formerly in the army, had been with me a member of the committee. Of Aréna I knew less; both were very intimate with Danton. I have always preserved a grateful recollection of the important service which they did me, and this recollection has especially caused me to deplore their error and their fatal end; for it is too well known that both of them perished on the scaffold. "Depart immediately," said they: "we have told the municipality that if any outrage were committed, even indirectly, on the inviolability of the deputies, during the time that it is guaranteed to them, the representative republic would be nothing more than a chimera. But the fermentation is such, and people's minds are so divided, that a little later we should not be able to answer

for any thing. Do not stop at Havre, but endeavour to go to England as soon as possible. We will shut our eyes, which is all that we can do." They themselves took me to my carriage, and followed close after. I arrived at Havre about 2 o'clock in the morning, when Madame Dumas, hearing my carriage stop, hastened herself to open the house-door and took me to her mother, and to the bed where my two little daughters were fast asleep. This moment of happiness effaced the remembrance of all the vexations, all the tribulations, which I had experienced during the year past, which now appeared to me like a dream.

After some hours of calm repose, which had been dearly purchased, my first care was to go to my friend Charles Lameth, who had likewise just joined his wife and young daughter, and was impatiently expecting me. We agreed on going to England with our families; some merchants, our friends, especially M. Delalanne, a correspondent of Charles Lameth's, had already spoken to the captain of an English brig, who was to sail in two days, and agreed for a large sum to land us at Dover; but, as strict search was made on board every vessel, of whatever nation it might be, before it left the port, in order to prevent emigration and the exportation of ready money, it was necessary to find some means of avoiding this search. Such vigilance was exercised in the outer road, that we could not venture, even if the state of the sea would have permitted it, to join the vessel there, as we should inevitably have been arrested. It was resolved to make, between decks, close to the captain's cabin, a double partition, in which there might be just room enough for our wives and three children to sit down. But, in order to prevent any suspicion, it was necessary that, after they had been shut up, the boards should be carefully joined and nailed, and that hammocks, arms, and other things should be hung up against them. Two other secret hiding-places for Charles Lameth and myself were contrived between the ribs of the vessel. When all was ready, we went on board at night, and with great precaution. The vessel was still in the basin, and we had to wait for the tide. While the ship was leaving the basin and approaching the entrance of the port, all of us retired into the hiding-places which had been prepared.

The boards which covered them were nailed up; and I recollect that every stroke of the hammer went to my heart.

It was a little before we left the port, and while the vessel was hauling along the jetty, working the windlass, that the officers came to make their search. The wind was south-west, and the sea being very boisterous, made the operation slow, difficult, and not without some danger. A great number of persons, attracted by curiosity, among whom our friends had mingled, assisted in hauling the ship along. I must not forget to mention that the family of Beaumarchais, and his interesting daughter Eugenia, who was already engaged to my brother-in-law, Delarue, were among the group which assisted us in leaving the port. The bustle of the sailors at work at the windlass, the movement of the commissioners of the municipality, and the soldiers who accompanied them, the cries repeated from the shore, the lamentations of our wives and children who were distressed by sea-sickness, and could hardly breathe in their narrow prison, made me resolve to break the boards which separated me from the deck, and to overturn, not without some noise, a stand which had been placed there, in order to conceal the hiding-place, and upon which there were china, glasses, &c. I went to the partition, which was still entire, and having advised the ladies to hinder the children from crying, and to have patience for some moments, I went upon deck. The commissioners were still there. I mixed with the sailors who were working at the windlass, and in a few moments afterwards the captain had the sails set, and we rapidly passed the head of the sluice. With what eagerness did Charles Lameth and myself assist in pulling down the partition. It was high time, for the ladies had fainted, and our little girls could scarcely breathe.

Night came on: it was very dark; the wind blew fresh from the south-west, the sea ran high, and there was every indication of an approaching storm. Though we were going before the wind, the ship being a bad sailer, we were constantly beaten by the waves, and suffered much from the rolling of the vessel. Our wives and children were quite exhausted, when after this long night we found ourselves at day-break in sight of Dover. The captain, who was bound for a port in Norway, refused to keep his engagement, and land us at Dover, because, he said, the wind and the state of the sea would not permit him to come out of port again. By means of entreaties and threats, we at length prevailed

upon him to lie-to off Deal, to hail for a pilot, and to endeavour to land us with our effects. This operation having been completed, we left the ship without accident, and in a few minutes landed on the beach before Deal. Having taken some refreshment at an inn, and forgotten our stormy passage, we set out for London, where we put up at an hotel in Piccadilly. Here we were soon joined by the Duke and Duchess d'Aiguillon, who had embarked at Boulogne. After taking some days' rest, and arranged our affairs in the city, we went to reside in a country-house at Hackney, where we agreed to live as one family, at our common expense, and without yet forming any further plans. We thought only of the misfortunes of our country, and alleviated the distresses of our exile, by the satisfaction of having saved what was dearest to us. We had visited the city, and the principal places of interest; we made excursions into the country, which was still beautiful during the month of October, and returned to enjoy in our small circle, comforts which many of our companions would have envied us.

This state of security was soon disturbed by an unforeseen accident. Charles Lameth, one of the members of the minority of the nobility, who were the most decided in the patriotic party, had had several affairs of honour, during the session of the Constituent Assembly. Being challenged for a third time by the Chevalier de Blot, and not choosing to favour the designs of the enemies of the revolution, by running the risk of leaving his post vacant, he had not accepted the challenge of the bully till their first meeting after the session. The Chevalier de Blot, who was in London, sent him a challenge, and repaired to Hackney on the day and hour agreed upon. He had taken for his second the Chevalier de Chabannes, formerly our companion in arms in America. The Duke d'Aiguillon was the second to Charles Lameth, who received a sword wound, which was less dangerous than we at first apprehended.

We reckoned on passing the winter quietly in this solitude, but the news which we received towards the end of November caused us to change our first resolution. The decrees fulminated by the Convention against the emigrants, the laws confiscating their property, obliged us to be separated from our wives and children, on pain of sacrificing their existence and that of our families. I was the first

to attempt to return to France, because my excellent father-in-law, M. Delarue, was to be arrested, and kept as a hostage, till it should be ascertained that I was in France.

I determined to return to Havre; but I did not venture to take my wife and two little girls, before I had made preparations for their return, and found a safe asylum for them. I therefore proceeded to Portsmouth, where I freighted a packet-boat for myself alone, and a second for my wife and children, who were to follow me in two or three days. My voyage was speedy. I landed without being perceived, and went in the first place to the house of M. Delalanne, where I occupied a small room, from which I could see the road, and the entrance of the port. After having passed three days in the greatest suspense, the weather being very stormy, I descried the packet-boat, carrying at the mast-head the signal agreed upon. It entered the port, and lay to at the south jetty, and at a point pretty far from the citadel. I saw my wife and my children land with an English governess, whom she brought with her, and who in the sequel occasioned us considerable embarrassment. I went to meet them and took them to the house of my correspondent, M. Delavigne, who had the kindness to receive us, and in concert with the mayor of Havre, M. Christina, my old and worthy colleague in the Legislative Assembly, did me all sorts of good offices, for which I have much pleasure in recording here a testimony of my gratitude. M. Delavigne, whose mercantile affairs were at that time very prosperous, experienced in the sequel, like many other merchants, severe losses. He has now the consolation to see the well-merited success of his sons, who were then almost children in the cradle.

When by the care of these worthy friends I had caused our uninterrupted residence in the town of Havre to be legally proved, and had been able to restore my wife and children to their relations, I thought of my own safety. I remained concealed at Havre during the remainder of December, and till the end of January, 1793. I corresponded with my friend Theodore Lameth, who had returned to Paris, and had, on his side, contrived the return of his sister-in-law, Countess Charles, and the Duchess d'Aiguillon, with their children. Charles Lameth and the Duke d'Aiguillon took refuge at Hamburgh, where they joined in form-

ing a little mercantile establishment to secure an asylum. Thus the society united at Hackney was dispersed..

Mean time such an active search was every where made after the proscribed persons, that I was warned that I could remain no longer at Havre without being discovered and pursued. M. Vimar, one of my colleagues in the Legislative Assembly, among the most distinguished for his talents and character, who was afterwards senator and peer of France, and had much influence and many devoted friends in his department (the Lower Seine,) undertook, at the request of Theodore Lameth, to find for me a safe retreat, provided that I would consent not to keep up any correspondence which might expose those who were disposed to receive me. M. Goux, his nephew, a justice of the peace in the canton of Neufchatel, resided in a small country-house on the edge of the forest of Eady. He had nobody with him except a niece, formerly a nun, a servant-maid, and an old man-servant. I went first to Rouen, and without stopping there, proceeded alone, on foot, and by night, to present to M. Goux the letter of introduction which my honourable colleague M. Vimar had given me. No one who had not been in a similar situation can be fully sensible of the solace of such hospitality. M. Goux received and treated me as if I had been his own brother. He was a very well-informed man, a really practical philosopher, and very mild in his manners. His fortune was moderate, and his mode of living frugal; his small house was kept in very good order; and his niece, about forty years of age, to whom he was tenderly attached, was a sensible agreeable person, possessed of great equanimity of temper. Her opinions did not differ from those of her uncle, which entirely coincided with mine. I was therefore as happy in this solitude as it was possible to be, under such circumstances, and in the frame of mind in which I then was. I found some good books in M. Goux's small library, and endeavoured to recompose from memory a plea, which I had written at home, during the king's trial, and which I intended * * * * * Melancholy and vain occupation, which was interrupted by the news of the catastrophe.

It is too well known that the death of Louis XVI. was soon followed by the most memorable expiation of so great

a crime: by the hecatomb of all the honest men who had not known how to assist us in preventing it, and by the indiscriminate and mutual massacre of the judges and executioners of that unhappy prince.

The sanguinary domination, the rage, the agitation of remorse, the search of the agents of terror, were such, that there was no longer any safe asylum for the Constitutionalists. The highest price was really fixed upon our heads, since nobody could receive us under his roof without hazarding his own.

M. Goux advised me to write nothing, to leave no trace, and I followed his prudent counsel. I never left his house, except to take a little exercise, by straying sometimes into the neighbouring forest. My conversation, full of tender recollections, appeared to be agreeable to my kind hosts, and our long winter evenings glided happily away. From motives of prudence, I very rarely received any news from my family, and always by some indirect channel. In spite of these strict precautions, a neighbouring clergyman, who sometimes visited M. Goux, learnt who I was. As he had himself afforded an asylum to another proscribed person, M. Chapelier, one of the most distinguished members of the Constituent Assembly, and was therefore as much interested as M. Goux in the secret which it was necessary to keep, he did not think he was guilty of any imprudence in confiding it to Chapelier. The latter, whose taste and habits had not qualified him for so much resignation as myself, caused a proposal to be made to me to visit him, or to let him come and see me at the house of M. Goux. My host and myself decidedly opposed this plan; I perceived that the bare proposal had given much alarm to M. Goux, which was greatly increased, when we learnt a few days afterwards that, doubtless in consequence of some similar indiscretion, M. Chapelier had been discovered, arrested, and taken to Paris, where he was thrown into the Conciergerie, which he quitted only to ascend the scaffold. The clergyman who had harboured him was conveyed to the prison at Rouen. I very soon perceived the extreme distress and affliction of my generous protectors, and declared that I was resolved to leave them, as the fear of exposing them would leave me no peace, either by day or by night. I only begged them to procure me a safe guide to conduct me to the vicinity of Pontoise, whence I purposed to go and

join my family, who had retired to our country-house, on the other side of Paris, at Soisy-sous-Etioles, near Corbeil. All was then very tranquil on that side, and my mother-in-law and my wife assured me that the popularity which I enjoyed in the Canton since the beginning of the revolution, was still a sufficient pledge that I should not be molested there. M. Goux, after having expressed his great regret, insisted on accompanying me with his niece to a small estate which they possessed, seven leagues off, near the road from Paris to Rouen. After having spent two days there, I parted from my hosts with much sorrow, and a heart full of gratitude, relieved by the thought that I freed them from the terror which my presence inspired. Accompanied by a faithful servant, I reached, in the night, the chateau of Osny, near Pontoise, where Madame de Lameth, the Duchess d'Aiguillon, and Theodore had retired. All was silent; I put my head into the window of the drawing-room, and sang in a low voice a stanza, which was the signal agreed upon in our little society. Theodore opened the door: I quieted the apprehensions of my friends, who were terrified at my unexpected appearance. I was happy at meeting them again, and especially at the pleasing account they gave me of the situation of my family, which I was to join on the following day at our country-house at Soisy-sous-Etioles. There seduced by some moments' tranquillity, I flattered myself that I might remain unknown, and enjoy the pleasures of domestic life amidst the general conflagration. Frequent domiciliary visits were every where made; the National Guard which I had formed, the municipal officers whom I had caused to be appointed, most of them workmen whom I had employed, came to search my house, to look for arms, linen, or superfluous effects. I recollect that when they were assembled in my apartment the most ardent among them gave me marks of respect. None of them ventured to touch my arms. They even apologised for its having been said at the Municipality that I had concealed some priests in a large ice-house, of which I made no use. I had had it shut up and decorated like a funeral monument, in the garden which I had laid out in the English style. I required the same workmen, who had been employed in erecting it, and who were then present, immediately to destroy their own work.

Being discovered, and tormented by spies, I was soon

afterwards denounced from the tribune of the Convention by a geographical surveyor, a member of that Assembly, and one of my subordinate officers, whom I had always treated with peculiar kindness. I will not mention his name. He accused me of having given to the enemy a plan for a campaign, and the Convention decreed that I should be arrested and strictly guarded. Pache, the new mayor of Paris, was directed to have this decree executed. Being warned betimes by a friend who was present at the sitting, I escaped through the forest of Senart, and went to Melun, where I found a safe retreat; but being soon afterwards informed that my father-in-law had been arrested in my stead, I returned to release him and give myself up to the inquisitors. Arbelletier, the police-officer, whom the mayor had entrusted with this expedition, was a man of letters, very mild in his manners, and very sensible. I treated him with much politeness; he was affected, and pleased with the scene of domestic peace in my family, and especially with the conversation of my mother-in-law and my wife. I prevailed upon him, without removing me, or losing sight of me, to forward to Pache, with whom I had been acquainted when he was Cabinet-secretary to the Marshal de Castries, a letter which I wrote to him. I explained to him that the report made to the Convention was a calumny, the more absurd, as I had resigned my office as Director-general of the Depôt of the War Department to the minister Beurnonville, more than six months before, and that my name had been erased from the list of the staff of the army. Pache replied to Arbelletier, that he was not to bring me to Paris, but to remain with me if he thought that he could answer for my not escaping. Arbelletier, who found himself very agreeably situated at Soisy, sent for his wife, a charming young woman, and a very good musician, and thus we all found ourselves tolerably comfortable in this singular society. The sword, or rather the axe of the guillotine, remained, however, suspended over my head, and I was certainly indebted for my life to the obliging negotiation of Arbelletier. My amiable and courageous wife, however, unable to bear this state of anxiety, repaired to Paris. She went to Thuriot, at that time president of the Convention, who had been one of the most violent Jacobins in the Legislative Assembly. He had not yet risen; he received my wife in a manner so officiously

civil, that under any other circumstances she might have been offended at it. "Citizen," said he, "your husband is an aristocrat, a member of the Austrian Committee, but he is a worthy man, who might have well served the Republic if he had chosen to do so. Since he has given in his resignation, and is no longer charged with the Depôt of the War Department, it is useless to have him arrested; make yourself easy, I will propose the revocation of the decree." He kept his word. My wife returned triumphant. I testified my gratitude to Arbelletier, and intrusted him with my thanks to the Mayor of Paris. I recovered my liberty; happy at not owing it to any step for which I had cause to blush. The same could not be said of those who had plotted my ruin; the person who had denounced me obtained the place of Director of the Depôt of the War Department.

After so severe a trial I felt that it was absolutely necessary to separate from my family and renounce the comforts which I had hoped to enjoy. I tore myself from the arms of Julia and my children, and quitted my father and mother-in-law, since I could but endanger their tranquillity. Being fully convinced, that in these times of trouble and anarchy, it is amidst the bustle of the immense population of the capital and its environs, that it is most easy to be concealed, and to live unknown, I set out without any fixed plan, accompanied by Lair, the faithful servant, of whom I have before spoken, with a small horse, a kind of farmer's pony, which we rode by turns, when I had a mind to travel a great distance in the day, or when I had to pass through or near some town or village. Being on foot in the republican costume (la carmagnole) I could not attract attention. I avoided the interrogations of the posts of National Guards, and the detachments of the revolutionary army of Paris and Versailles, which scoured the country in all directions, plundering as in a conquered country.

The chateau of Osny had not yet been searched; all was tranquil there. I returned to it now and then, but made only a short stay; and Madame Dumas came and met me there. We were made easy by the kindness of the inmates, who could not forget the obligations they were under to the family of Lameth. Count Theodore cultivated their friendship with equal vigilance and address. We easily suffered ourselves to indulge in this security, when the chateau was

attacked by one of those terrible bands. We had scarcely time to escape and to part from the Countess Charles de Lameth and the Duchess d'Aiguillon, whom our presence would certainly have exposed to danger. I took refuge at Pontoise, in the house of an apothecary, who was a municipal officer and an honest man, wholly devoted to the family. My wife leading my eldest daughter by the hand and carrying the youngest in her arms, went to conceal herself in the wood of la Garenne, behind the chateau, to which she did not return till the following day, when the domiciliary visit and the orgies of these brigands being ended, they had retired. We learnt some time afterwards from our friend M. Daunou, who had remained in Paris, that Prince Charles of Hesse, while affecting to take a lively interest in my welfare, having succeeded in discovering my retreat, had so far debased himself as to denounce me to the Committee of Surveillance of the Convention, and directed the attack which had forced us to disperse. Being informed by my worthy municipal officer that a description of my person had been sent to the Revolutionary Committee of Pontoise, I had not a minute to lose to escape from the snare into which I had fallen. I had a passport in my own name, which I resolved to alter in the following manner:—In my own signature Dumas, closing the *u* to change it into an *a*, and merely putting a tittle over the third stroke of the *m* to make an *i* of it, I changed my name and the pronunciation so well and so simply, that it was read Danias. I took the precaution to let the worthy apothecary go before me by the road to Gisors, leading my little pony by the bridle. When he passed before the post placed at the entrance of the suburb below the mill, and was asked where he was going so early in the morning, he answered that he was going as usual to visit his patients in the neighbourhood. I came to the post some minutes afterwards, which suffered me to pass without manifesting the slightest suspicion, but I had scarcely proceeded a hundred steps, when the farrier who lives near the gate, whom I had not observed, but whom I knew very well, cried out, "Stop, citizen! come and speak to me." I pretended not to hear and walked quietly on; he quickened his steps and overtook me near the mill. He wore a large red cap, and was nothing less than the President of the Revolutionary Committee, which he told me at once, and demanded my pass-

port. I showed it to him. "It is regular," said he, "but you must come and have it signed at the municipality." I positively refused, for it was a sentence of death. I had my pistols about me, put my hands into my pocket, and drawing back some steps told him that I was going to the market of Gisors, on my own business, that I had already been stopped at the bridge, that I was in order, and that I would not turn back. Whether he was convinced or frightened, for we were alone, and out of sight of the post, and he saw I was fully determined to get rid of him, if he attempted the slightest violence, he suffered me to pass, and I walked slowly on, to the point agreed upon, where I took my horse, after having sincerely thanked both my excellent protector, and that Providence which watched over me. In fact, I could not conceive that this farrier, who had so many times seen me pass and repass both in a carriage and on horseback, should not have recognised me, in spite of my disguise and my bad wig.

I should write a volume if I were to retrace all the singular or dangerous situations in which I was placed. Numerous romance writers have wearied the public, and will entertain posterity, with the tragical, and sometimes comical adventures which such times of proscription produce. When every thing is subverted, all habits changed, every thing, in short, under the dominion of falsehood, what crimes and what virtues, what fearful, what brilliant meteors are produced in the moral, as well as in the physical world, by these dreadful convulsions!

After having twenty times changed my resting-place, I was informed that the Abbé Delacroze, Rector of Eragny, near Pontoise, who, having rendered himself very popular, had been elected mayor of his commune, and whom I had often met in the Chateau D'Osny, where his pleasing manners made him welcome, thought he had discovered a safe asylum for me, that I was to go to his house, and he would send me to one of his brethren, whom he had induced to do me this service. I went accordingly, going a long way about, in order to avoid Pontoise and the places where I might be known. The ci-devant Rector of Eragny was a young man, thirty or thirty-five years of age, very well informed, and animated by the most noble sentiments. "I wish," said he, "that I could keep you here, but the confidence which is placed in me in this country, and which

would insure your safety as well as mine, attracts a great number of persons to my little dwelling, and you would soon become an object of curiosity and suspicion. But I shall send you to the Rector of Montigny, two leagues from this place. The Abbé Lamblin, to whom I have already spoken, will receive you very willingly. His parsonage-house is very well situated at the foot of the eminence of Franconville, near the wood. This little village is not upon a frequented road: there is only one country-house inhabited by very worthy people." I did not stop long at Eragny; I only agreed with my new protector, that if I were too much molested at Montigny I would return to Eragny, were it only to ask his advice. I took care particularly to notice the cross roads by which the guide conducted me to Montigny.

The Abbé Lamblin, who had nobody with him in his parsonage but an old woman servant, received me in the most hospitable manner. He assigned me a very good apartment, the windows of which looked towards the country, and appeared very confiding, and satisfied with my society. He proposed on the following day to introduce me to his neighbours Messrs. Girard and their ladies, who inhabited a very pretty country-house opposite to his parsonage, and had already been entrusted with our secret, which certainly could not be in better hands. Messrs. Girard were brothers, who had formerly been bankers, were countrymen of mine, born at Montpellier, and after having long resided in Paris, had retired from business, in which the elder had been very prosperous. They were both married. The eldest, who was more than sixty years of age, had married the daughter of an advocate, a very pretty woman about thirty years of age, sensible and pleasing in her manners. The younger, about fifty years old, had married a lady of Montpellier, about the same age as himself. He had but a small fortune. His brother had received him, and he lived with his wife and a sister-in-law in a little pavilion at the end of the garden, commanding a view of the country, and near a small wood, which crowns the hill, at the foot of the heights of Franconville, below the mills. I was received in this house like an old friend of the family. I here met with the mayor of the commune, named Fleurier, a plain farmer, and one of the most estimable men that I have been acquainted with. In the younger M. Girard I had the pleasure of meeting again with an excellent patriot, whom I had

often seen at Paris at the residence of General Lafayette, and at the house of my brother Saint-Marcel, while he was major of the fourth legion of the National Guard. M. Girard was lieutenant of grenadiers in the battalion of the Petits Pères. He embraced me cordially and hastened to offer me his services. In the first place we settled my disguise. It was agreed, in concert with the mayor, that not to affect too much mystery, I should pass for a relation of Messrs. Girard, who was going to settle at Montigny, and had hired an apartment in the house of the Abbé Lamblin. I made my declaration at the mayor's, where I appeared in a good countryman's dress and wooden shoes. My passport was signed, and from that moment I was considered as an old inhabitant of the commune. In order to avert all suspicion, without imposing on myself any restraint, I habitually spoke with Messrs. Girard the dialect of Languedoc, or French with the southern accent, before the inhabitants of the village, whose good will I soon gained. I took the opportunity to make myself useful; the people came to consult me, and I was a kind of secretary to the commune. They called me M. Danias. All went on as well as possible, and I was in perfect safety. But the Abbé Lamblin being soon afterwards frightened at the arrest of one of his brethren in a commune near Montigny, expressed some uneasiness, and ended by declaring that he did not think he could keep me any longer in his house. His old servant, whom I had easily gained, endeavoured in vain to make her master easy. I foresaw myself that the fears of my host would soon discover me, when a very unexpected visit fully decided me as to what step I should take.

Lair, my father-in-law's valuable valet-de-chambre, entered my room at day-break, and brought me news of my wife and children, and urged me to rise immediately. While I was dressing he lighted my fire, and when I was sitting down near the fireside, he gave me a note from Madame Dumas, and a letter from my unhappy friend Barnave, with whom I had been very intimate during the Constituent Assembly, and who, with Messrs. Duport and Alexander de Lameth, had kept up, till the 10th of August, a secret correspondence with the Queen.

On his being arrested, a letter of mine was found, detailing at great length the circumstances which preceded the 10th of August, and the consequences which might be ex-

pected from it. I was accordingly included in the act of accusation drawn up against him, and at the moment when I received his letter, I was more hotly pursued than ever. It was dated from Fontainbleau. Barnave informed me, that at the moment of his arrest at Grenoble, he wrote to me a confidential letter relative to the late events, and to the state of public affairs. This letter, too, had been seized, and Barnave, who was taken to Paris, did not doubt that I was as closely pursued as himself. In fact, one of the friends of my family being at supper at Madame de Guibert's, with the famous Barrère, had heard the latter say, "We shall have a good lot next week, Barnave, the ex-minister Duport-Dutertre, and Mathieu Dumas; we have got the two former, and we shall soon have the third." Afflicted at the fate of these illustrious citizens, and especially of my friend Barnave, I was reading over his letter, leaning against the chimney, when Lair, agreeably to the orders which he had received, snatched the letter from my hands and threw it into the fire. I dismissed the faithful servant, desiring him to make my family easy, but without venturing to write a word to them. I told the Abbé Lamblin that I should very soon quit his house, asked him for a few days' delay, during which I promised him to be doubly careful, and took care not to let him suspect that I was going to consult the Rector at Eragny. My host never lost sight of me. He seemed to be very much agitated. I took advantage of the hour when he was celebrating mass to make an arrangement with his servant. I told her that I was going to seek an asylum in the neighbourhood, but that, if I could not stay there, instead of wandering about the fields, I would return in the night; that she should sit up, and that I would ring very gently at the little door of the churchyard, which communicated with the court-yard of the parsonage, and she promised to let me in, without the knowledge of the Abbé, and to hide me in her own room.

Having thus secured a retrêat, I set out at nightfall, while the Abbé was at Messrs. Girard, and reached Eragny at eight o'clock in the evening. The Abbé Delacroze was not at home, but his servant, a very active young girl, received me, and sent him word. I found him as confiding and as generous, as I had left his colleague terrified and desponding. A very good supper was brought up; he

neglected nothing to make me easy and to divert my thoughts by his interesting conversation. About ten o'clock in the evening he begged me to take some repose, and led me to the room which he had prepared for me. It was a beautiful moonlight night, and I opened the window to obtain a better view of the garden, and to make myself acquainted with the situation of the place. All was calm around us. At the foot of the hill I perceived a little gate, which opened upon the country, and asked my host various questions on the nature of the ground, husbandry, and other circumstances. He answered my inquiries, smiling at my fears. "It is my custom," said I, "and it is also my profession to reconnoitre the country around me, always bearing in mind the necessity I may be placed in of changing my quarters, and securing my retreat." "Well," said he, "this little gate leads into a vineyard; on ascending the hill, you cross a road which compasses the village. You come afterwards to a meadow and then to the little wood which you crossed in coming from Montigny."—"Very well," said I, "let us go together into the garden and take the key of the little gate." He very politely accompanied me; opening the door, he walked some yards with me in the vineyard, and we returned, leaving the key in the lock. I refused to undress, saying, "I am in the field, and hold myself in readiness in case of surprise." He wished me good-night, and left me.

I had scarcely fallen asleep, when I was suddenly awakened by fearful cries, a great tumult, and the barking of the dogs: persons were ringing and knocking at the door of the parsonage:—"Open immediately, in the name of the law! Open!" The Abbé came to meet me, and said a few encouraging words. I clasped his hands, alas! for the last time. I had scarcely time to reach the little door, and throw away the key, and in my haste threw down a bundle of vine-props, which fell upon me, and under which I remained crouched down. I perfectly distinguished the house, which was in a moment entered by a strong detachment of the revolutionary army of Versailles; I saw the lights moving in all the rooms, and heard the threats of these ruffians. The tumult continued for nearly an hour; to which a profound silence succeeded, and the house seemed to be entirely abandoned. I heard nothing more, than now and then the beating of the drum, and the

barking of the dogs. There was a knocking at the doors of the farm-houses, which were doubtless searched by the same persons. I quitted my asylum, and climbed up the hill as far as the road, and as I was passing the ditch, I saw on my right hand the glittering of the arms of a group, which was advancing rapidly. I believed myself undone, and, thinking of my family, my friends, my unfortunate host, who I did not doubt had been carried off for having so generously afforded me hospitality, I entertained for a single instant the fatal idea of ceasing to defend my life, and of delivering myself up. But I was struck with horror at my own resolution and threw myself flat at the bottom of the ditch. The revolutionary soldiers passed hastily without perceiving me, and went towards a farm on my left hand; I got up, crossed the road, the meadow, and the little wood, and proceeded over the fields of Montigny.

About two o'clock in the morning, without having any unpleasant rencontre, I had reached the little door of the church-yard, where I rung lightly, as if the wind had moved the bell. The good old woman immediately opened the door, and I hastened to reward her faithful vigilance. She led me to her own room, passing by that of the Abbé, who was fast asleep. Being worn out with fatigue and benumbed with cold, I found the bed delightful. As soon as it was light I sent to request Madame Girard to come and speak to me; she undertook to announce my return to the Abbé Lamblin, and offered to induce her husband, her brother-in-law, and his wife, secretly to give me an asylum. So amiable a negotiator could not fail of success. It was agreed that I should lodge in the little pavilion in the garden, the window of which overlooked the poultry-yard; that this window should be always shut, and that I should not go out, except at night, to walk in the garden. There were only three rooms in the pavilion; a little kitchen, the room occupied by M. and Madame Girard, adjoining that assigned to me, which was very neatly and conveniently furnished. In the principal court-yard of the house was a very fierce dog, always chained up during the day, but let loose in the garden at night. It was determined to make him my friend and confidant, by leaving to me alone the care of feeding him. Every day towards nightfall he received from my hand a good meal, did not leave me during my walk, and watched like a sentinel about the little pa-

vilion. He was a very fine large dog, and nearly resembled a wolf. I could not have a better escort, for he would have torn to pieces any one but the inmates of the house, who should have attempted to touch me. My new hosts, the family occupying the pavilion, reluctantly consented to let me pay for my board. I never went to see M. and Madame Girard, senior, but when no stranger was present. Except the worthy mayor Fleurier, no person was entrusted with our secret. In this manner I passed, in perfect security, the remainder of the winter of the end of 1793 and the beginning of 1794. I received news from my family pretty often; I read the newspapers, a horrible martyrology, where I had the affliction to find the names of Barnave, of the priest of Eragny, and of many other friends and companions. I continually endeavoured to divert my mind from so many melancholy subjects. I was kindly provided with good books, and read Tacitus and other ancient authors to abstract myself, as much as I could from the history of my own times, to which, however, I was unfortunately but too often called back by the picture of human passions and miseries, (which is always too similar,) in other times, among other nations, with other manners. I accustomed myself to solitude and meditation, and my seclusion, after a life so agitated, so vainly employed, did not occasion me any ennui. The return of spring, the sight of the country, the revival of the flowers, made an impression on my mind which I cannot describe. The contrast between this profusion of the blessings of nature, and the disorder of the social system of my unhappy country, was a weight which my reflections and my conjectures relative to the future could not lighten. I had to undergo a new and painful trial, that of seeing my estimable and generous host, M. Girard the younger, expire in my arms. His health had been for some time declining, and going one day to Pontoise on foot, he overheated himself, was seized on his return with a violent attack of cholera morbus, and in spite of speedy assistance, and the care of his excellent wife, he was carried off on the third day.

About the same time my wife yielded to my entreaties, and resolved to obtain a divorce. She was taken to the Town-hall, disguised as a market-woman, in a mob-cap and wooden shoes; and when she had exhibited the required certificates, the municipal officer, who acted as priest of

Hymen, said to her, "you have a villanous name, and you are quite in the right to exchange this husband for another." She ventured to come twice to see me in my retreat. She begged me to allow her to endeavour to find means for my escaping from France. The massacres continued to increase, terror was at its height, and the families of the proscribed were no more. I rejected for a long time the advice and the entreaties of my wife; I was unwilling to incur new hazards, unless means could be found for me to join the army, the only refuge which could become me, if it were possible that, mingling in the ranks as a private soldier, I could remain unknown, and protected by some superior officer who was my friend. M. de Montmayeur, formerly a garde-du-corps, very well known to my mother-in-law, had risen rapidly to the rank of colonel, and commanded a regiment of hussars. He offered to take care of me, had a uniform made and a complete equipment prepared. It was to be brought to a house between Montigny and Franconville, where a subaltern officer was to come to and accompany me to the regiment. But just at the moment that the plan was to be executed we were obliged to give it up. Whether Montmayeur had advanced too inconsiderately, or had himself become suspected, or that his situation had changed, he disappeared from Paris, and my family received no intelligence from him. Another means was thought of, and proposed to me; it was not without danger, but success was more probable, and I resolved to attempt it.

My friend Theodore de Lameth had found an asylum among his colleagues of the Deputation of Mount Jura, who, taking advantage of the frequent communications with the Pays de Vaud, had retired thither, and had induced him to follow them. They had settled at Nions, with the Prior, who inhabited a very good house on the banks of the Lake of Geneva. The following is the mode which he prepared for my escape into Switzerland;—he persuaded an inhabitant of the country, about my own age and stature, and who had a son twenty years of age, to come to Paris, and propose to the Committee of Public Safety, to enter into a considerable contract for boots and shoes, which was to be disposed of by tender. He had models made, with which, and with good passports, and certificates from the authorities, my Sosia repaired to Paris. He presented his

patterns, and his offers were accepted. The seal of the Military Committee was put upon the boots and shoes. His passports were countersigned, with the addition of a recommendation and a eulogium on his patriotism. My tailor, a man who was entirely to be depended upon, made for me a complete dress, exactly resembling that of the contractor. A hat and a wig, too, precisely resembling those he wore, were prepared for me. He went to my coachmaker to purchase my travelling carriage; every thing being thus prepared, I took leave of the family of Girard, from whom I parted with regret, unable adequately to express my gratitude for the generous care which I had continually experienced from them, taking with me at least the consolatory thought that I ceased to expose them to dangerous inquiries.

I left Montigny dressed as a peasant, mounted on an ass, and accompanied by the worthy Mayor Fleurier. I avoided Paris, passing through Charonne, and met my faithful Lair between Saint Mandé and Charenton. The wheat was already very high. I undressed myself in the middle of a field, and put on the disguise which Lair had brought me to the place agreed upon. I thanked my guide, and pursued my way to the Bridge of Charenton. I did not arrive there till the hour and minute fixed beforehand, and at the same moment saw my carriage, which stopped to change horses. The two doors were opened at the same time; I saw my Sosia alight, went to the other side of the carriage, and took my place next his son. As he had two passports, I had no reason to feel uneasy respecting him.

Before we had reached the first stage after Charenton, I was already fully informed by my young companion of all that concerned his family, the circumstances of his journey, and every thing in short that it was necessary for me to know, that I might be able to answer unforeseen questions, and act my part properly. I likewise informed him of all that it would be necessary to do and say, to second me as occasion might require. We were not stopped during the night by any accident. When we reached Provins, about seven o'clock in the morning, we fell in with a pretty numerous crowd, who were going to plant a tree of Liberty. A number of curious persons surrounded our carriage, to whom we exhibited our passports, which obtained us acclamations, amidst cries of "Vive la République!" Nothing

more was required of us in all the places on the road, till we reached Langres. There the watchword was more strict. The post of the National Guards which stopped us, and to which I was going to show our passports, requested us to alight and proceed to the Municipality. I objected, alleging the urgency of my mission. The officer who commanded the post came up during the discussion. and having looked at me very attentively, took the passports, returned into the guard-house, and coming back a few minutes afterwards, he opened the door of the carriage, and leaning forward to speak to me, in a low voice, he said, "There, General Dumas, your passport is regular; may Providence watch over you; I wish you a happy journey. Postilion, drive on." I was not even able to guess to whom I was indebted for this good office.

It was midnight when we arrived at Besançon. They desired to take us to the Municipality, where commissioners, they said, were permanently assembled. We found only a secretary, who told us that we must wait till the morning. I desired to be taken to the Mayor, whom we found in bed, with the curtains drawn. Without seeing him, or being seen by him, I told him my story; he signed the passport without difficulty, and I met with none in getting the gates of the place opened for me, as usual for the agents of government. When I reached Pontarlier, the last frontier town, I met with more serious difficulties. All travellers were there stopped and rigorously examined. The Municipality were assembled, and I had to go, and be questioned by them. I waited for my turn for above two hours, in an office where some clerks were employed, among whom I observed a very amiable-looking child about ten years of age, the son of one of the municipal officers. The conversation of these citizens was not calculated to make me easy. They related that a lady, who had been suspected and taken back to Paris, had been guillotined in twenty-four hours. As I was expressing some impatience on account of the business confided to me, one of the clerks said to me, "If this little boy would go in, and take your papers to his father, perhaps your passport would be signed without your being interrogated." The little boy accepted the commission with a very good grace, but returned soon afterwards without bringing my papers. "Papa says he will look at them." After a cruel suspense of half an hour, I ventured to send

him back again; the least risk was to appear troublesome, and the greatest was to have to show my face, which was so well known from my frequent appearance in the tribune. I recollected my adventure at Langres, and did not hope for so good a chance. This time my pretty little negotiator brought back my passport signed. It was too late to continue my journey, and the pleasant look and sensible observations of the landlord of the inn at which I had alighted gave me confidence to pass the night there. I set out at day-break, having only more trial to undergo, namely, the examination of my carriage by the custom-house officers, at the fort of Joux. This operation was very long. They almost took my carriage to pieces, in order to be certain that I did not carry any money with me, more than was strictly sufficient to pay for my journey. I had taken very good precautions, and these skilful searchers, pierced and sounded and felt to no purpose all the parts: none of them suspected where my money was hid. One of the two spring bars, all covered with mud, and strongly fastened, had been hollowed out, so as to contain 1000 crowns in gold.

I do not believe that any traveller ever entered the Swiss territory, or saw the beautiful banks of the Lake of Geneva with more pleasure, or experienced more lively satisfaction than I felt, when I embraced at Nions my excellent friend Theodore Lameth, who triumphed in the success of his plan.

After having taken off and sawed through the spring-bar, and taken out my little treasure and recompensed my travelling companion, I partook, for some days, of the agreeable hospitality which my friend enjoyed, in the house of the worthy minister of Nions. He was there waited upon and taken care of by two amiable daughters of the old house-keeper, and was as comfortable as a man can be in a land of exile, even in this magnificent country of Vaud, which is the finest garden in Europe.

It was necessary to separate, for the restless vigilance of the agents of the Republic did not allow the slightest assembly of constitutional conspirators like us, so near to the frontiers of France. It was not without much difficulty, and by all sorts of subterfuges, that the first friends of French liberty were able to obtain a precarious asylum in this classic land of liberty. Theodore had provided for every thing, and procured me a retreat at Morat, in the house of a per-

son whom we had both known at Paris, and who was connected with the family of Count d'Affry. I first settled in a small lone house on the bank of the lake, and very near to the fine estate of M. de Garville. It was quite a hermitage, where I lived alone, served by an old woman during the remainder of the summer. I had procured some books, and very seldom received visits from the persons in the town to whom I had been introduced. I wrote to M. Barthélemy, the ambassador of the Republic, who resided at Basle, and to whom I was very well known. I entrusted my secret to him, being very certain of his discretion and of his inclination to protect me, as far as should lie in his power. I had inscribed my name at Morat as an Englishman, under the name of Proctor. One evening walking along the shore, I was met and immediately recognised by an old friend of my family, the Abbé Rousseau, chaplain to the King, and who, under the empire, became Bishop of Coutances. He had left France five months before, and had been received by M. de Garville. He offered me his services; I accepted only his word not to discover my retreat, nor to speak of our meeting, in order not to expose me to inquiries, or to embarrass his friends.

In this solitude, being unable, notwithstanding my efforts, to divert my thoughts from the deplorable situation of my country, I found some consolation in tracing the picture of the events in which I had taken so large a share, and of the frightful anarchy which was the consequence of them, and which the constitutional party had not been able to avert. In order to represent them in a more lively manner, and to exhibit them as I may say in action, it occurred to me to write a drama, entitled "A Night of the Committee of Public Safety." I introduced in it the principal persons whose characters, views, and infernal principles I too well knew. A political and a love intrigue served, as the groundwork, to develope in three acts all the secret springs of the Pandemonium. Each of these persons appeared in turn, and according to his interests, his character, and his talents, held language the strict truth of which was proved by his own discourses in the clubs and in the tribune, as well as by all his public acts. This composition is, I believe, of all that I have ever written, that which has most energy of style, spirit, and correctness. Of the three acts of the drama, only two, the second and the third have been pre-

served, and may be among my papers. The first act, containing the exposition, has been destroyed. I exhibited in it, without sparing him, the man whom I considered as the secret promoter of the conspiracy against the Constitution of 1791, and to whom I gave the fatal honour of the conception of the Revolutionary Government. Some years later, having read this drama to the philosopher Jacobi, he reproached me with having given way to my resentment, and of having advanced, without sufficient proofs, facts, which contemporary history could record only as conjectures. Led away, like many other illustrious German professors, by metaphysical theories, he insisted that I should destroy what he called an unjust and violent satire. I sacrificed it to friendship and to gratitude; for, as you will see, my dear son, in the sequel of these memoirs, I was indebted to Jacobi for the asylum where your mother came to fetch me. I threw the first act of the drama into the fire. The remainder, whatever praise may have been bestowed upon the work, is now wholly insignificant.

As I have said above, the Swiss Cantons were not a safe asylum for the principal persons proscribed, but the secret protection of M. Barthélemy, the minister of France, and the more direct patronage of the Count d'Affry, in the canton of Friburg, in which I was, induced me to remain there.

I made some excursions, generally on foot, in this beautiful part of Switzerland, and often went to Berne, the government of which was divided into an aristocratical and a constitutional party. I was received there by the family of Lentulus, and by M. de Frusching, one of the most illustrious members of the senate. The latter encouraged our hopes, and predicted the speedy fall of the Revolutionary Government. He thought that this circumstance would produce an inevitable reaction, and that if the court of Vienna was well informed of the interest of the constitutional party, some mode of conciliation might be opened.

Full of this thought, he invited me to write a memorial, which he undertook to have forwarded. I took advantage of the proposal to serve indirectly Lafayette, Alexander Lameth, Latour Maubourg, and Bureau de Puzy, who were confined in the dungeons at Olmutz, by a breach of faith, which long protracted the misfortunes of France. This memorial, which I delivered to M. de Frusching, was in the form of

a letter, under the title of "*L'Espérance volontaire de l'armée du nord, à S. A. le Prince de Saxe-Cobourg.*" In this memorial I described the true situation of parties in France, such as I saw it, not according to my personal situation, my well-founded regrets, and my resentment against the pretended republicans, the favourers of anarchy; but according to the principles laid down by the Constituent Assembly, and the manners of the nation, which the disorders of anarchy had not been able to change. I showed that the influence of those manners and sound public opinion would re-appear in all their force, as soon as the double pressure of democratic tyranny and of the coalition of the powers should cease to stifle them. I told the ministers of foreign cabinets that their most urgent interest was to put an end to this violent state of things, this irritation of the minds of the people, which threatened to overturn the order of society in Europe; that this object would not be attained by arms; that the anarchists had succeeded in destroying the monarchical constitution, and subjecting the French nation to the yoke of their tyranny, only by exciting war, and that they would but serve their schemes by cherishing the flame. Above all, I endeavoured to show the spirit of the French armies; their attachment to liberty, as obtained and regulated by the laws of the Constituent Assembly. I said that their efforts for the defence of the territory, their valour, and their glory, were and would remain pure from all the crimes and all the stains of the false republic; lastly, in this patriotic revery, I endeavoured to show that moderation was the surest means to extinguish in France the revolutionary volcano, and I asked, as the pledge and evident sign of the honourable and pacific intentions of the Court of Vienna, the release of the prisoners at Olmütz.

'As I have just said, it was the revery of an exile. This memoir was sent by M. de Frusching to General Kotze, a Swiss in the Austrian army, delivered to a minister who possessed great influence, and attracted the attention of some statesmen; but it remained unanswered. It was afterwards communicated, by an unfaithful hand, to some members of the Convention, and it was with much difficulty and pecuniary sacrifices that my wife succeeded in recovering and destroying the only copy that existed. This writing might in the sequel have seriously injured me, though in my conscience, and according to my principles, I had not

to disavow or regret any assertions or expressions, as deviating from my constitutional opinions.

The same views, the same sentiments of attachment to my country, and fidelity to the legitimate prince, (the unhappy Dauphin was still alive,) induced me to deliver to M. Camano, minister from the Court of Spain at Lucerne, where I went to wait upon him, a memorial of the same tendency as that which I have just mentioned, but supported on more evident grounds, drawn from the common interest of the two nations. This second memorial was sent to the Court of Spain, which was already engaged in negotiations for peace with the Committee of Public Safety.

I took advantage of my residence in Switzerland to correspond freely with my brother, Dumas de Saint-Marcel, formerly colonel of the regiment of Auvergne, who had been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, after a brilliant action in the battle of Nerwinden. He had quitted the army after the murder of Louis XVI. I was much vexed that he was in the ranks of the enemy. He had accepted a commission in the Austrian army, and commanded at that time the legion of Bourbon, which was part of the vanguard of Field-Marshal Clairfayt. I persuaded him to retire with his wife to Temeswar, which was assigned him for his residence, with the half-pay of his rank. I shall relate in the sequel how I got him to return to France.

On the approach of the winter of 1794-1795, I retreated to the little town of Morat, having with difficulty obtained from the government of Friburg (still passing for an Englishman by the name of Proctor) permission to reside there. I lived very retired, having scarcely any communication with the inhabitants. I could have but little correspondence with my family, and it was necessary carefully to avoid any thing which might serve as a proof of my emigration, and hinder my return. During this winter to fill up the long hours of solitude, I resumed my course of reading, especially of Tacitus and Machiavel. I made copious notes, the result of my reflections, and of the comparisons which suggested themselves, at almost every page, between the facts and persons belonging to times and circumstances so different from those which I had witnessed, and in which, however, I found the same causes, the same effects, the same passions, and the same errors.

As the excesses of the demagogues increased with the

success of the French arms, it was impossible to foresee a speedy termination of these horrible scenes. The persecution of the constitutionalists who had taken refuge in Switzerland had relaxed in some degree, and I thought of establishing myself in a more settled manner, to secure an asylum and a claim to more special protection.

M. Bremont, one of my friends, who has since established a very considerable glass manufactory at Semsales in the canton of Friburg, had brought some money from France; he proposed to include me as proprietor, in the purchase of a small country-house, with a vineyard, very agreeably situated on the west bank of the lake of Bienne, opposite the island of Saint Pierre. I passed some months there very quietly. Count Francois de Joncourt having likewise purchased a house similarly situated, a mile distant from ours, where he had assembled his family, I had the good fortune to find in my neighbourhood an old comrade, a companion in misfortune, who had nobly supported the constituent party in the Legislative Assembly. I was as happy in this retreat as I could hope to be out of my country, knowing it to be delivered up to the excesses of anarchy, and trembling every day for the dearest objects of my affections.

I was visited in my hermitage by Madame Chenaux (Pauline de Margency,) a cousin-german and intimate friend of my wife; a charming person, whom I loved like a sister, and who was soon taken from us by premature death. She was making a tour in Switzerland. I visited with her and her husband the most picturesque parts of the banks of the lakes of Bienne, Neufchatel, and Geneva. Soon after the return of my cousin to France, we received the news of the events of the 9th of Thermidor. The fall and execution of Robespierre and some of his accomplices did not surprise me. I had long foreseen that revolution, and had almost divined, and even written, the principal scenes in the drama of which I have spoken above.

However important this new change was, I did not participate in the premature hopes of my friends. I was too well acquainted with the characters and the interests of the men who had effected this reaction, to flatter myself that the consequences of this new state of things could extend to the recall of the proscribed constitutionalists.

The members of the Convention who had roused the sentiments of humanity did not delay to moderate them, and their inevitable effects, which led them to their own ruin. Thus they proved that they had acted only for their own safety. Yet as the instrument of terror had broken in their hands, and they could not resume it except by rendering themselves still more odious to the undeceived people, than their colleagues whom they had just sacrificed, there was some relaxation of the late rigorous measures, and more facility afforded to correspondence; of which I took advantage to pave the way for my return to France. I had not been placed on the list of emigrants, but my emigration, as well as that of a great number of my friends, was well known, and I had been particularly pointed out and denounced to the Committee of General Safety of the Convention. It was not till six months after the death of Robespierre that my family consented to my return, which I ardently desired.

At the beginning of May, 1795, I ventured to return clandestinely to France. I took leave of my friend Bremont; and it was not without regret that I left our peaceful retreat to plunge again into the current, the waves of which were still so tumultuous. I went first to Nions, to join Theodore de Lameth, whose active friendship arranged my journey to return to France, with as much care as he had taken to secure my escape. He had provided for me in the Department of the Jura, and particularly at St. Claud and at Dôle, a connexion with some of our colleagues, formerly deputies from that department to the Legislative Assembly. M. de Lameth accompanied me to the top of the mountain of Saint Cergues, where he put me under the care of a safe guide. I passed the frontier, and crossed on foot in the snow, through by-ways, the summits of Mount Jura. I descended at Saint Claud, where a friend of Theodore de Lameth, who had been informed of my arrival, received me with the most affectionate hospitality. On the following day I went to Dôle, where I met, as had been agreed upon, M. Mallet, a banker of Geneva, who was returning to his house at Paris and had offered me a seat in his carriage. Our friends of the Jura had obtained for me a false passport; on this occasion I crossed France with as much safety as I had had difficulty and trouble to leave it. The interesting

conversation of M. Mallet, who was well versed in literature, and the author of some charming fables which he recited to me, added much to the pleasure of the journey.

I had been wandering about for two years, and was happy again to see my wife and my children, my father and mother-in-law. I lived under the paternal roof, but I still saw traces of the reign of terror, and of the impression which it had left in every mind. The misery of the people, and the want of resources in all classes was still felt. At the first dinner to which I sat down, I was struck with a speech of my wife to my daughters. "Children," said she, "I am always obliged to repeat the same thing to you, you eat too much bread."

My situation was precarious. I was obliged to conceal myself, and to see but very few persons. I went secretly to visit Madame de Lameth, the Duchess d'Aiguillon, and Madame Beauharnais, afterwards the Empress Josephine. I learnt from those ladies, who had but lately been released from prison, that my liberty was again threatened. Some members of the Convention, to whose zeal they were indebted for having been preserved, and then delivered after the fall of Robespierre, had given them notice that my return was known, that I was denounced to the Committee of General Safety: some of the inquisitors, particularly S., insisted that I should be declared an emigrant and prosecuted as such.

I was obliged once more to separate from my family, as I could not remain with them even at our country-house at Soisy-sous-Etioles. This new separation was extremely painful to me, and I confess that it increased my feelings of resentment at the injustice and the perseverance of my persecutors. I was obliged to submit, and returned to Montigny; but as, in consequence of my first residence in that little village, the house of Mr. Girard was no longer a safe asylum for me, my generous friend procured me another at Herblay, a neighbouring village, in the house of Mr. Lefèvre, a man of letters, author of the tragedy of Don Carlos, a work much esteemed, though it has not remained on the stage. He lived very economically, in profound retirement, and consented to receive me into his family. Though the company of Mr. and Mrs. Lefèvre, and the amusements of their children, rendered this new exile as tolerable as I could have expected, it seemed to me very long. The search

of the inquisitors had been fruitless, and some change in the Committee of Public Safety giving my family more confidence, I was able to return to Paris about the 15th of September, and to live at Soisy without fear of being molested.

CHAPTER II.

Constitution of the Year III.—The 13th of Vendemiaire—Elections—Letter of Lebrun—Nomination to the Council of Ancients—Division of opinions in the two Councils and in the Directory—Committee of the Constitutional Party—Its plan of operations—Its influence directed towards peace—Position and personal labours in the Council of Ancients—Success of the army of Italy—Success and reverses of the armies in Germany—Pacification of La Vendée—State of the public mind—Election of a Director—Elections for the Councils—Reciprocal position of the Directory and the Councils—Confidential conversation with Treilhard—Meetings in the Rue de Clichy—Motion of Dumolard against General Bonaparte—Praise of the armies and the generals—Composition of the guard of the legislative body—Communication with General Pichegru—Conference with Barras—Arrival of Augereau's division—Confidential communication on the project of proscription—Proposal of Colonel R—Conversation with General Kleber—The 18th of Fructidor, and the law of the 19th of Fructidor.

At this time the Convention, mutilated by its own hands, fatigued by the very abuse of the powers which it had usurped, was hastening to put an end to the republican constitution. Warned by the fault which the Constituent Assembly had committed in renouncing the re-election of its members, the Convention resolved not to resign the sovereign power, which the Legislative Assembly had illegally delegated to it, without securing to itself, in the new order of things, individual guarantees against a reaction, which, sooner or later, was inevitable.

The misfortunes with which it had overwhelmed France were not atoned for by the success and the glory of our arms. This glory, pure from all the crimes with which a great number of the pretended representatives of the people had stained themselves, was the pride of the nation, but could not extinguish so many just feelings of resentment. The blood shed in the field of battle for the defence of the

country and the conquest of liberty, was accounted a generous sacrifice for the country; but the blood shed in torrents on the scaffold had served only to promote the triumph of the most shameful tyranny. How could indignation and thirst of vengeance be stifled? The conciliation which the greater number of the members of the Convention certainly desired was not possible. If they had confined themselves to decreeing that they might be re-elected they would have had but an insufficient guarantee; it was therefore necessary for them to prolong their legislative existence. The republican constitution of the Year III. was made solely with this view; and the decree which enacted that two-thirds of the members of the Convention should retain their legislative functions was the condition *sine qua non* of the carrying this new compact into effect.

The constitution properly so called was almost unanimously accepted in the primary assemblies, because the division of powers was a great improvement, which public opinion, enlightened by fatal experience, at once recognised. In fact the Council of Five Hundred resembled a house of commons; the Council of Ancients, less numerous, was as a senate or upper chamber, and the pentarchy of five directors represented, though less effectively, the executive power. But the decree which confined the vote of the electoral assemblies to one-third of the two councils, and prescribed that the two remaining thirds, as well as the five directors, should be chosen among the members of the Convention, did not meet with the same approbation as the fundamental law. It might be said that the dislike of this condition was nearly general, though it did not manifest itself strongly and by insurrection, except in the capital.

I do not write the history of this event, which produced the dawn of the genius of Bonaparte, and on that account especially had so powerful an influence on the destinies of our country. The details of these tumultuous scenes must be read in the "History of the French Revolution," by Mr. Thiers. I declare, as an eye-witness of this great, unsuccessful insurrection, that all the facts are there related with the most scrupulous accuracy; that the characters of the principal persons are represented with fidelity, in the spirit of the times, and that too much praise cannot be given to the discernment of the author, in the choice of the materials which he has employed; but the judgment of the his-

torian on the causes of this event, and the share which the several parties took in it, does not merit the same confidence. He has exaggerated the importance of the royalist party, and the advantages which it might have derived from the success of the insurrection of the sections of Paris against the Convention. The most general desire of the population of Paris was to return to the constitution of 1791. The elections would have been in this spirit, and it is very probable that the electoral assemblies in the departments would have followed the impulse given by the capital. I have neither seen nor heard any thing which could make me think that the nation might, at that time, have been led to a restoration. The horror of anarchy was so general and so profound that it would have preserved us from the excesses and the fatal consequences which, in the opinion of Mr. Thiers, would have followed the dissolution of the Convention. His eloquent eulogium of the acts of that assembly cannot be fully confirmed by posterity. We may admire the foresight and the energy of the counsels, which were dictated by necessity and a desperate situation; but as for the vigour and talent shown in the execution of the military operations, the whole merit of them must be attributed to the patriotism and the valour of the army. It was not to support the tyranny of the Convention, but in spite of that tyranny, that the French armies triumphed over the ill-concerted efforts of the coalition. Mr. Thiers, speaking of the Convention, uses the expression, "*this illustrious assembly;*" it was illustrious like Erostratus.

I had come to Paris a little before the 13th of Vendémiaire. I had met with some electors and several of my colleagues in the Legislative Assembly. I found them in high spirits, full of confidence in the disposition of the mass of the people, but there was no leader, worthy to be recognised, and capable of directing a military movement, no fixed plan. The natural and simple idea to raise barricades at short intervals, to seize on the artillery, to secure the principal posts, to impede the access to the quays and boulevards by abattis, had not occurred to any body. I avoided taking any part in so ill-concerted an enterprise; remaining a mere spectator of this afflicting disorder, it was but too easy for me to keep the promise which I had made to my family, not to implicate myself in it. The day after

the sanguinary victory of the Convention was a day of mourning for the city of Paris. The streets and squares were deserted, the National Guard had disappeared, the revolutionists had been re-armed, the well-disposed citizens thought they were going to be replunged into the abyss of 1793. However, the most influential members of the Convention, satisfied with having been saved from so imminent a danger, by the vigorous and judicious measures of General Bonaparte, did not abuse their success. They contented themselves with consolidating their new position, by trying by a court-martial and condemning to death some pretended ringleaders, none of whom were taken or even sought after. The Convention hastened to proceed to the elections under this impression of a partial terror, and to secure the execution of the famous decrees for the arbitrary re-election of two-thirds of its members.

I had returned to our country-house at Soissy. I did not appear in the primary assembly of my canton, in which I had formerly presided, and desired my friends to prevent any votes being given in my favour, to send me to the electoral assembly, because this nomination would certainly be followed by a new denunciation of emigration. Notwithstanding this precaution, the electoral assembly had scarcely met at Versailles, when I received from my ancient colleague in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. le Brun, since arch-treasurer of the Empire, a very affectionate and very pressing letter, in which he requested me to accept his exertions, and those of his numerous friends, to get me elected deputy to the Council of Ancients. (I was then in my forty-second year.) I refused the good offices of my honourable friend, stating the motives of the resolution which I had taken, to withdraw entirely from public affairs, having been struck off the list of general officers, without any hope of being restored to it. Notwithstanding my refusal I received a second letter, in the following terms:—

"You are nevertheless a French soldier; we present you with a weapon to defend liberty, and you ought to take it. You will be elected deputy for the Department of Seine and Loire to the Council of Ancients. and you will have for colleagues the advocate Tronchet (the same who had defended Louis XVI.), the advocate Tronçon Ducoudray, who had defended the Queen, Marie Antoinette, and me, your friend Le Brun."

This nomination of the deputation of Seine and Loire highly displeased the members of the Convention, and I was warned that if I did not withdraw spontaneously before the verification of the powers, my election would be annulled, and I should be denounced and prosecuted as an emigrant. However the day for making the report on the deputations of the Seine and Loire having arrived, I did not hesitate to appear at the sitting of the Convention. The report was made by Tallien, and my mind was made easy in some degree, by the promise which he had given to his wife and to Madame de Beauharnais, who had had the kindness to dissuade him from the denunciation. These two ladies were present at the sitting, in the president's seat in the gallery. Tallien kept his word, and made no particular remark on declaring the names of the four deputies of the department of Seine and Loire, all of whom, like myself, were on account of their age designated for the Council of Ancients. The proclamation of the too well-known names excited indeed some murmurs, but no member made any observation, and we were admitted. I had now no anxiety remaining; I was entitled to consider myself as finally restored to my rights, and Deputy to the legislative body. Yet a short time after the formation of the Council of Five Hundred, a special committee was appointed to make new inquiries respecting the members of the two councils, suspected of having quitted the territory since the establishment of the republican government. My countryman, General Frégeville senior, one of the members of this committee, informed me that his colleague, M. L * * *, had again denounced me, as well as several other persons, who were nearly in the same situation; the committee was to deliberate on the subject, and M. L * * * was to make the report. Under these circumstances I applied directly to M. L * * *, to convince him of the falsehood and injustice of such an accusation, and declared to him, that if it should be carried to the tribune, I should consider it as a personal affair between him and myself. He answered that, whatever his own opinion might be, he should conform to the orders of the committee. I was undoubtedly indebted to General Frégeville for the favourable decision, which guaranteed for the future my entire security.

Conformably to the new constitutional act, the two chambers were composed of two-thirds of the members of the

Convention, who had been chosen by drawing lots, and of another third of deputies, newly elected; the latter with few exceptions, held sincerely constitutional opinions. The condition which required members to be above forty years of age, to qualify them for admission into the Council of Ancients, had retained in that council a greater number of moderate constitutionalists than there was in the Council of Five Hundred. The majority of this upper house was composed of honest and courageous men, and the best disposed, by their opinions and sense of justice, to restore good order. Most of them, in the difficult situation in which they had been placed in the Convention, had resisted to the utmost of their power the excesses of the passions. Such were Lanjuinais, Bernard-Saint-Afrique, Bodin, &c. They rejoiced, and were flattered with the support of the newly elected members. There was therefore reason to hope, that by acting with prudence and circumspection, it would be possible to throw off the influence of the revolutionary party, and that the majority of the Council of Ancients would strongly support the executive power, if it manifested an intention of proceeding in a good course, and of governing according to the real interests of the nation.

In the Council of Five Hundred the case was quite different; the revolutionary faction had there retained its principal supporters, either by the chances of the ballot, or because the youngest and most ardent members of the Convention were necessarily assembled there. The newly elected third, even supposing them to possess the firm constitutional opinions which were observed in the Council of Ancients, not meeting with the same sympathy, could not fail to remain in the minority.

In this state of things, the Directory had to determine the spirit and the tendency of its government. If it relied on the prudent majority of the Council of Ancients, it would conciliate public opinion and strengthen itself at the very beginning. If, on the contrary, it yielded to the revolutionary impulse of the majority of the Council of Five Hundred, it would alienate the great body of the citizens, who were still frightened by the spectre of the Convention, and whose confidence could not be acquired, except by gradually effacing the traces of the Reign of Terror. The five members who composed the Executive Directory were divided on this vital question. Three of them, Barras, Rewbell, and Larevellière-

Lepeaux, voted for the last alternative, while Carnot and Letourneur de la Manche adhered to the principles of moderation and justice which prevailed in the Council of Ancients. Thus was formed that strange opposition which had a majority in the upper chamber, and a minority in the second chamber and in the Executive Directory.

The vices and incoherence of the elements of this pretended republican government were palpable, and appeared evident at the very first trial. However we had submitted to its yoke, which was less heavy than that of the Convention; and though we could not believe in the duration of a government which wanted unity, and contained within itself so many germs of discord, we were sensible that, under the circumstances, it was the only means of saving the country; and it was in good faith that the most influential members of the Council of Ancients exerted themselves to support and to improve it as much as should be possible. I was among the number, and closely attached myself to our two most celebrated orators, Portalis and Tronçon Ducoudray. We found a powerful support in the knowledge, the talents, and the experience of Barbé Marbois, Lebrun, Dupont de Nemours, and some others.

We formed a society of twelve persons, among whom were the principal members of the minority of the Council of Five Hundred, such as Simeon, Gilbert Desmolières, and Dumolard. We met twice a-week, once at the house of Barbé Marbois, where we had a pic-nic dinner, and once at that of Gilbert Desmolières, where we passed the evening. This kind of committee was always unanimous respecting principles and measures. There was never any reservation, intrigue, or extraneous influence. It is not true, whatever were really our monarchical opinions, that we ever served the royal cause. We had no object, no intention, but to prevent the return of anarchy, and to bring the republican government, such as we had found it, and such as the usurpation had made it, to legitimate itself in the eyes of the nation, by the probity and morality of its acts; we sincerely desired that it might find its support, its real strength in public esteem. I remember having frequently said to my colleagues at our meetings, when endeavouring to allay the impatience of some of them, and their too warm disapprobation of the proceedings of the Directory, "Yes, certainly, an ideal republic which has no fixed principle, no

basis in the manners of the nation, and which gives only illusory securities to liberty, is a very bad machine. But the mechanicians are worse than the machine, because they want confidence in themselves, and by a deplorable error, their personal and exclusive interest makes them deviate from the object which they wish to attain. Under present circumstances, it is our duty for the good of our country, to maintain this complex machine, such as it is: if we exert ourselves to regulate its action instead of impeding it, it may be improved by successive elections, and gradually destroy, without any shock, the influence which is most dangerous to liberty."

Such, in fact, was the plan agreed upon between us, and constantly followed. It consisted in firmly opposing the abuses of authority and violent measures, without however refusing to second the government in every reasonable and useful plan which it might propose. We wished to restore order and economy in the finances, and a good and impartial administration of justice. We desired that the employment of the national forces, and the military operation, should be sincerely directed to obtain the conclusion of a safe and honourable peace. The three directors who formed the revolutionary majority in the executive power, and their perfidious counsellors, very soon penetrated our views, and from that moment considered us as conspirators, and manifested their distrust on all occasions. They especially dreaded the tendency of our opinions on the question of peace, and the increasing favour which we acquired by them. The continuance of war was, in their eyes, the aliment and the true guarantee of their power. We, on the contrary, thought that we could not escape from the abyss of revolution, except in a state of peace, which was possible, and might be very honourable, since we should retain our most valuable conquests. Bonaparte had not yet taken the command of the army of Italy; the advantages which General Scherer had gained at Loano, and which he owed to the vigorous attacks directed by Masséna and Augereau, were not sufficiently decisive to change the situation of affairs in that country, and enable us to act on the offensive against the very superior force of the enemy. This army was in the most deplorable condition. We had just experienced a great reverse on the Rhine; the false manœuvre, or rather the treachery of General Pichegru, had favoured

the bold enterprise of General Clairfayt, and caused the blockade of Mayence to be raised. Every thing was in confusion on that side; and but for the energy and prudence of the arrangements made by Jourdan, the conqueror of Fleurus, who was at that time commander-in-chief of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, Clairfayt would have derived more advantage from his victory, and made himself master of the whole of the Lower Rhine.

It was under these circumstances, and before the opening of the campaign of 1796, that I published, under the title of "*Résultats des Dernières Campagnes*," a pamphlet, in which, after some reflections on the new system of war, I endeavoured to prove that it was time to stop to take advantage of the want of union among the allied powers, and to negotiate for peace, offering compensations which could not fail to be accepted. This pamphlet made a noise, and drew down upon me many enemies. My observations on the changes that had been introduced in strategic operations on a great scale, during the wars of the revolution, were repeated and further developed in the work which I published subsequently, under the title of "*Précis des Evénemens Militaires*."

The part which I took in the proceedings of the Council of Ancients was nearly the same that had devolved upon me in the Legislative Assembly, namely, that relating to my profession, and to all affairs concerning the military legislation. I was constantly appointed member of the different committees, and almost always chosen to make the reports of the resolutions on the organisation and administration of the troops, the pay, the courts-martial, rewards, and every thing that might concern the armies of the Republic. The sincerity of my zeal, and all my efforts for the welfare of the army, gained me credit, even in the minds of my most distrustful colleagues. I was named secretary when my friend Portalis was appointed president of the Council, and had frequent occasions to admire his splendid talents and prodigious memory. Being almost totally blind, it was impossible for him to read and write; he nevertheless followed all the movements of the Assembly; maintained order with firmness, and knowing the place of each member, the sound of whose voice he distinguished with marvellous accuracy, he never committed any mistake in granting or refusing leave to speak. If the debate was interrupted by the arrival

of a message from the Council of Five Hundred, or from the Directory, it was sufficient for me to read it once to him in a low voice, to enable him to repeat aloud, addressing the Assembly, the whole of the resolution, however numerous the articles might be, without disturbing the order of them, and without changing any expression. When committees of inspectors of the hall were formed in the two Councils, I was named one of the five members of that of the Council of Ancients, in which Barbé Marbois was one of my colleagues; and both of us, as I shall relate in the sequel, were included in the proscription of the 18th of Fructidor, the office given to these committees having received from unforeseen circumstances a kind of political character, a false importance which we had not sought, and which became fatal to us.

The new successes of the campaign of 1796 had given much strength to the revolutionary majority of the Directory; the genius and good fortune of the young general of the army of Italy had changed the face of affairs; his plan of invasion, profoundly conceived, executed in three months, with so much activity, vigour, and prudence, had astonished Europe, refuted all conjectures, and raised to the highest pitch the glory and terror of our arms. This powerful diversion, by checking the progress of the imperial armies on the Rhine, had given time to re-establish the army of the Sambre and Meuse, commanded by Jourdan, and that of the Upper Rhine, where Moreau had succeeded the traitor Pichegru, who had resigned, and concealed in the obscurity of his retreat the disgrace of his projects, which had failed, and were not yet brought to light.

While Bonaparte was triumphing on the Adige over the increased efforts of Austria—while with 30,000 intrepid soldiers, whom the ascendancy of his genius had electrified, he destroyed the third army that was opposed to him—Jourdan and Moreau, breaking the armistice, passed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, Neuwied, and Strasbourg; they outflanked the wings of the Archduke's army, penetrated into the valleys of the Neckar and Maine, and forced the Austrian army, though superior in numbers, to retire towards the valley of the Danube and the frontiers of Bohemia.

The great advantages gained by Jourdan and Moreau at the commencement of this brilliant campaign had not the

results that might have been expected; the divergence of operations in the two armies, the want of unity in the whole plan of the campaign, and in the general command, and especially in the superior command of the two armies, gave the Archduke Charles time and means to attack alternately the army of Jourdan and that of Moreau, and to compel them to repass the Rhine. The success of General Bonaparte in Italy, and the manner in which he had alone conducted the war after the inspirations of his own genius, ought to have preserved the Directory from the fault which it committed in dividing the command of the army in Germany. However, though the object of the operations was not obtained, because it had not been sufficiently pointed out in the instructions given separately to the two generals, the campaign was glorious, first from the victories gained on the right bank of the Rhine, and then from the good order, vigour, and skill shown in the retreat, especially in that of the army of the Rhine under Moreau. The three armies of Italy, the Sambre, and Meuse, and the Rhine, were animated with equal ardour; they were well commanded, and their emulation was especially excited by the example of the victories in Italy. General Hoche, on his part, terminated the civil war in La Vendée, and restored peace to that unhappy country. Yet all this splendour abroad was but feebly reflected on the government of the Republic; it was tarnished at home by the public distress, the exhaustion of all resources, the lassitude and discontent of the people. The Directory congratulated itself on having urged the continuance of war. All the nation longed for peace; the Directory flattered itself with imposing its own terms on all the powers of Europe, and considered as a crime our wishes that it might at length be the reward of so much blood spilt, and that the government would enter into negotiations at a time when it could not be accused of weakness, and when it could not be required to make humiliating concessions. A whole year passed in this respective position of the Legislative Councils and of the Directory. In all questions relative to the finances, the administration, internal order, and foreign relations, however sincere our co-operation might be, we had constantly to contend against the same prejudices. It was not with us, but rather against us, that the majority of the Directory desired to govern: for

in its system it was necessary for it to consider us as enemies. This unjust perverseness irritated the best disposed among us.

I have already said that of the five Directors, Carnot alone, feebly supported by Letourneur de la Manche, fully appreciated our system. Like us, he was persuaded that it was the only means of conciliating the sound opinion of the public, and of giving credit to the republican constitution. But to attain this object it was necessary to ensure the concurrence of the executive power by a majority in the Directory.

The annual election of a Director in the room of the one who was to go out was near at hand; the question was to be decided by drawing lots, but we had two chances to one for the exclusion of one of the revolutionists. If Rewbel, or Barras, or Lareveillère-Lépeaux went out, Letourneur and Carnot remaining, it was sufficient for us in order to have the desired majority, to get a Director admitted, whose character, enlightened understanding, and probity might ensure us his adherence to our principles. For this purpose we prepared with much prudence the election of Barthelemy. His services during his mission in Switzerland, where he had concluded the treaty of Basle between the Republic and the King of Prussia, had rendered him popular among the members of the Convention; we found it easy enough to get him proposed by the Council of Five Hundred, and we secured him a majority in the Council of Ancients. However, we were disappointed in our hopes. In drawing lots to determine who should go out, Letourneur, took the fatal ball. Rewbel, Barras, and Lareveillère-Lépeaux remained in the Directory; Carnot and Barthelemy were in the minority.

Our situation with respect to the executive power was, therefore, not changed, but the election of a new third of the deputies in the two Councils would make a third of the old members of the Convention go out of each of the two Councils. A very small number of them flattered themselves with being re-elected. We were, therefore, sure of having shortly a majority in the two chambers, since it was sufficient to act with the same prudence till we came to the time for replacing the last third of the Convention.

The choice of the new deputies to the Council of Ancients was such as we could wish; our new colleagues followed

for the most part the prudent course which we had adopted. It was not quite the same in the Council of Five Hundred: the election of General Pichegru, and of some other partisans and secret co-operators in the project for the restoration of the ancient monarchy, impeded our measures. Their proceedings, their presumption, and blind precipitation, alarmed the Directory, and furnished it with all the pretexts of which it stood in need, to relieve itself by a decisive stroke from the critical situation in which it was placed. This plot had been long in preparation by the three Directors, Barras, Rewbel, and Lareveillère, without the knowledge of Carnot and Barthelemy. The situation of the two latter, and consequently ours, became every day more and more embarrassing. We were between two factions; one armed with the power and disposal of all the forces of the state, the other without any resources either of strength or of opinion, cheating itself with illusions, and giving a false colour to our proceedings. Nevertheless, it was our duty to persist in the line which we had traced, because every day we were approaching the object; we did not despair of making the Directory sensible of its real interest. It was probable that as soon as the two chambers should have a majority of members sharing in our opinions, the Directory would find it safer and easier to govern conformably to this public opinion, than to check it by acts of violence, which could only lead to its own ruin.

The members of the Convention, however, who had condemned Louis XVI., seeing no safety for themselves but in their absolute and exclusive dominion, would never trust to our good faith, and enter sincerely with us on the course of justice. They were afraid of themselves, and did not hope to find any favour with the nation, if they suffered the constitutional party to participate, either directly or by its influence, in the exercise of the executive power. As a state of peace was incompatible with the reign of violence and terror, which they held out as a threat always impending, they desired at any rate the continuance of the state of war, which gave free scope to their arbitrary authority over the most energetic portion of the nation, and adorned their power with all the splendour of military glory.

Some months before the 18th of Fructidor, a very remarkable opportunity was afforded me to convince myself of this determination of the majority of the Directory, and

thus to suspect the existence of the plot. Treilhard, one of the members of the Council of Five Hundred, was a member of the committee of inspectors of the Hall, which united with that of the Council of Ancients in the Pavillion Marsan. I had been well acquainted with this learned lawyer, while he sat in the Constituent Assembly, where his knowledge, and his vivacity and penetration had distinguished him. He had unhappily voted for the death of the King. He was very intimate with Rewbel, and I knew that he was one of the principal advisers of the majority of the Directory. Chance having brought us together at the meeting of the two committees, I had reason to congratulate myself on his kindness. One day after the close of the sitting, being left alone with him, I said, "Are you in a hurry? is the debate in your Council interesting?" "No," said he, "not at all; what have you to say to me?" On which I rose, locked the door, and put the key upon the mantelpiece. "I know," said I, "your position, your talents, and the influence of your councils upon men, who in all respects are much below you; I would know from you what you think of me and my friends; what judgment you pass upon our political conduct, and why it is that we cannot agree together?"

The following was his answer:—"You are very honest men, very able, and I believe that you sincerely desire to support the government, such as it is, because there is no safe means, either for you or for us, to substitute another in its place. But we, members of the Convention, cannot leave you to take your own way. Whether you will or no, you lead us gradually to our certain ruin; there is nothing in common between us."

"What guarantees do you require then?"

"Only one, after which we will do whatever you desire; give us this guarantee, and we will follow you blindly."

"And what is it then?"

"Ascend the tribune, and declare that if you had been a member of the Convention, you would, like us, have voted for the death of Louis XVI!"

"You demand what is impossible; what you would not do if you were in our place. You sacrifice France to idle terrors."

"No," replied he, "the match is not equal; our heads are at stake." The remainder of the conversation was of no importance.

From that moment I no longer doubted that the intrigues with which we were surrounded would, before the election in the room of the last third of the members who were to go out, have an issue fatal to liberty and to its real defenders. I endeavoured to maintain in my friends a confidence which I no longer felt, and continued to combat, though without hope of success.

Each of the three parties continued to make use of its means to strengthen itself, and every hope of approximation soon vanished. Some influential members of the Council of Five Hundred formed a meeting in the old house of M. Bertin, in the Rue de Clichy. At this meeting, some members of the new third endeavoured to form a Royalist party. They thought they could excite serious troubles, by which they would have profited, to effect a counter-revolution and recall the House of Bourbon. They ill concealed their designs under constitutional language, and laboured to exasperate the minds of the people against the Directory. My friends and myself were constantly present at these meetings, and exerted ourselves to moderate the excitement which was daily increasing. This small party of Royalists had, in fact, no means of action; their declamations only irritated the Directory, and furnished it with pretexts to have recourse to measures to ensure public safety,—that is to say, to brutal violence, relying on the support of the army. Unfortunately our counsels were coldly received by too sanguine minds, who, less sensible than ourselves of the dangers of our situation, did not sufficiently distrust the snare which was laid for them, and called our prudence timidity.

Dumolard, member of the Council of Five Hundred, who had distinguished himself as one of the best speakers of the Constitutional party on the right side of the Legislative Assembly, committed one of those faults which endanger a party, and which nothing can repair. General Bonaparte, indignant at the new Sicilian Vespers at Verona, and at the perfidy of the Venetian oligarchy, had resolved to take signal vengeance. Dumolard announced to the club at Clichy that he would denounce the general of the army of Italy and the executive Directory, who had authorised a dreadful violation of the rights of nations, and the destruction of the most ancient republic. We exerted ourselves in vain to dissuade him from his design. I met him at the house of

the director Barthélemy, the day before that which he had indicated to bring forward his motion in the Council of Five Hundred, and in concert with some of my colleagues, who were present, I endeavoured to make him sensible of the consequences of this rash step. Dumolard was not led away by the Royalist party; he was a sincere patriot, but blind in his prejudices, and more fluent than eloquent; he was infatuated with his facility of elocution, and incapable of elevating his ideas to lofty political considerations. It was highly impolitic to offend the just pride of the conqueror of Italy, when he was avenging on a perfidious government the blood of his soldiers, which had been shed by base assassins. General Bonaparte supposing, and undoubtedly contrary to the truth, which he could not know, but according to all appearances with good reason, that this attack was combined between the leaders of the two councils, could not pardon us for having attempted to paralyse in his hands the thunderbolt with which he struck the Venetian government; and in fact to blame his conduct under such circumstances, was to snatch from him the fruit of his victories. To embarrass the negotiation opened with Austria since the revolution of Venice, and the cession of the Venetian States, as a compensation for that of the Netherlands, was the only means to conclude a glorious and solid peace. In a word, it was alienating from us the most decisive influence, and transferring it entirely to the Directory.

Far from wishing to partake with Dumolard and the small number of his colleagues which had supported him, the responsibility of his motion, we rejected this responsibility; but it was in vain: it was but too easy for the Directory to give to our most energetic explanations the colour of hypocrisy.

I had been well informed of the plan agreed upon by the majority of the directors, and of their secret manœuvres to derive advantage from the motion of Dumolard. I seized the first occasion which offered to give to our protestations on this subject the greatest possible publicity. The debate being opened on the resolution of the Council of Five Hundred, to declare *that the armies of Italy, of the Sambre and Meuse, and of the Rhine and Moselle, deserved the thanks of the country and of humanity*, I hastened to take part in it. I did not confine myself to vain apologies, eulogies, and common-place remarks, but endeavoured to produce a

deep impression by presenting a picture of the different military operations, and the true situation of our foreign affairs. Some extracts from this speech may serve to justify our much calumniated intentions, and may perhaps also not prove useless to history.

After a short exordium, and some general observations, I said, "At this moment, when the sword of the French Alexander is cutting the inextricable knot of so many intrigues, it is our duty to repel, before the eyes of the agitated nations, the unjust reproach that our object is to aggrandise ourselves, and excite troubles in other countries. We have rather a right to accuse in our turn the authors of the sanguinary discords, and of the devastation of the Continent; for we have not ceased to call for general peace, we have not feared to reproach our own government with not having sufficiently appreciated its benefits, and of its influence on the firm establishment of the Republic. Not listening to any thing but the voice of the French people, we have been their faithful echoes, when it was necessary to brave the most outrageous suspicions, in order to express the wishes of our fellow-citizens." "Doubtless the progress of our arms in Italy, the situation of our armies on the Rhine, the developement of our daily increasing forces, as soon as the new order of things rose from the chaos of the Revolution, could not leave to the Cabinet of Saint James any reasonable hope of constraining us to consent, not, as its plenipotentiaries affected to say, to conditions and exchanges which chiefly concerned its allies, but also to retrocessions which would secure the dominion of England on the shores of the ocean, and bring the ruins of Holland under a yoke the most severe and the most disgraceful to which a vanquished nation ever submitted. Let Europe now judge whether France or England rejected peace; whether Bonaparte, equally moderate in the use of victory either at the gates of Turin, before the Capitol, or under the walls of Vienna, has not fulfilled the expectations and the decrees of the Republic; and whether it is not by this moderation and by his humanity that he has gained the affections of the nation more than by his triumphs. England has constrained us to commit to the force of arms that which for a long time has not been subject to it, namely, the existence of the French republic. Well! the fate of arms has decided; and this time it is not blind fortune, but

the talent of our generals and the genius of Bonaparte which has terminated this memorable struggle.

"The peace which we are on the point of concluding will probably dispel a great illusion, and clearly show the difference between the interests of a power altogether maritime, and those of a power altogether continental. Citizens, we shall have other occasions to demonstrate the difficulty of union between such powers, and perhaps effectively to undermine, to the advantage of our allies, the basis of the insular colossus of modern policy.

"It was easy to foresee this event, and the most enlightened of our enemies, from considering the state of our finances, had anticipated it; for the credit of the two governments is already estimated by their progress in an inverse ratio; ours from a paper to a metallic currency, and theirs from a metallic to a paper currency. The most enlightened men announced that the Executive Directory of the French republic would not fail to profit by the impatience and eager desire for peace manifested by the French people and the army, and that offensive war would this time become more terrible as it was carried on upon vast plans, the first trials of which had been successful, and the combinations of which were in a manner national, connected with the principles, with the vigour of the new institutions, little known to foreigners, and not easily practicable by other nations.

"Lastly, the example of Bonaparte and of our soldiers in Italy, inflamed the courage of our armies on the Rhine, and excited the emulation of the generals.

"Then it was that, with a contradiction, which will not escape the attention of history, the victors were again braved and defied, and we were forced to be conquerors. Germany has been every where laid open to our invasions, while affecting to prolong the war only to secure it from them.

"Why cannot I, my colleagues, in here calling to mind all the grounds for national gratitude, lay before you the picture of the last events of this campaign, such as history will have to present it to posterity.

"Bonaparte had just struck the decisive blow at Rivoli; as a general and as a soldier he had raised his glory to the highest pitch by the accurate combination and the rapidity of his marches, by the good disposition of his reserves, the

precision of his attacks, and perseverance in the combat, and while the army was encompassed on all sides, continually restoring order in those parts of the line which were broken, and immediately formed again. Berthier, whose talents and ardent courage had so greatly contributed to the conquest of Italy that Bonaparte did himself honour by claiming for him an equal share of glory and gratitude,—Berthier, Masséna, Augereau, and all those illustrious leaders, who were at the same time grenadiers and generals, outdid themselves on that day and those that succeeded it. The army had hitherto fought with intrepidity: at Rivoli it learnt that there were no dangers superior to its courage, no situation which it should think desperate, and that rapidity of motion multiplying its forces, there were no limits to the effects of ardour, union, and confidence. On that day the army became invincible.

"You know, and I shall not repeat, what were the rewards and the fruits of this victory, and the taking of Mantua. The most pleasing, doubtless, were, being able to give peace to the head of the Church; to confound by this act, so full of magnanimity, and worthy of the French nation, all the calumnies of its enemies; which, indeed, no one has since ventured to repeat, to deprive anarchy of its horrible and impious hope; lastly, to leave for the first time the memory of the French name honoured and blessed in these countries.

"The cabinet of Vienna had not foreseen that the terrible Victor of Rivoli would disdain to mount the capitol, and while he was marching to Capua, the Emperor hastened to repair his losses, and to form, for the third time, an army of Italy. The Prince, whose talents, courage, and activity, even when they failed before our Xenophon, had revived the confidence of the imperial troops, was summoned from the banks of the Rhine; but the noble defence of Kehl had detained him too long for the success of the new plans of the Court of Vienna. The enemy's armies are all in motion; considerable corps leave the banks of the Rhine to combat among the rude mountains of the Tyrol, other corps take their places, while our masses remain immovable, homogeneous, and repair their losses as far as their resources permit.

"And here I must do justice to the foresight of the Directory. Scarcely was the system of war changed upon the

Rhine by the glorious retreat of Moreau, when a powerful reinforcement was drawn from it, to be sent to the army of Italy; not corps or broken detachments, but entire divisions, marched under General Bernadotte, proud of the laurels they had just gained, and of the share which they were going to reap in those of Italy in the name of the two armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and of the Rhine and Moselle. This march was the longest that any corps ever made on the continent in the winter-season; thanks to the indefatigable zeal of General Kellermann, obstacles till then reputed insurmountable were overcome. By means of labour and vigilance, he kept the passage of the Alps free in spite of the climate and the elements: the columns, the artillery, and the baggage experienced no loss, no accident, no delay. To this operation, which was so extraordinary that the enemy could not calculate its results, we owe the advantage by which Bonaparte so well profited.

"To these combinations of the best employment of our forces, the Directory united the wise precaution of calling to the army our young defenders, and we must observe that this rigorous and necessary measure was not left on this occasion to arbitrary power, nor executed with that indecent haste which almost degraded and rendered odious the most sacred duty, the principle unanimously approved by the whole nation at the commencement of the revolution, carried into effect by the formation of 3,000,000 of National Guards, confirmed by the laws, and which will be maintained by the love of liberty, by honour, by the presence of so many trophies, by the tradition of the most glorious recollection. The decree of the Directory breathes the humanity, good faith, and confidence which ought to have been manifested in all its proceedings; accordingly it produced the effects which were expected. The young men, after having taken some repose in the midst of their families, and profited by the delay which was granted them, returned to their colours, and hastened to share in the last triumphs of their brethren in arms.

"On the other hand, the return of the unfortunate and impolitic expedition to Ireland having left the government at liberty to employ a general already celebrated by his successes, and by the pacification of La Vendée; whose zeal, and that of his brave companions, had been put to the

terrible trial of the most useless dangers, it was just to employ his talents on a more extensive theatre.

"While the enemy persuaded themselves by their observation of our position on the left bank of the Rhine, and the knowledge which they had at length obtained of the reinforcements sent to Italy, that we should remain absolutely on the defensive, General Moreau took no other repose after this campaign, and the brilliant defence of Kehl, than to visit the posts and quarters occupied by the army of the Sambre and Meuse, to prepare the new organisation, and to restore the cavalry to an efficient condition. Scarcely had he delivered the command to General Hoche, when the latter, seconded by his staff and by General Debelle of the artillery, displayed an activity equal to their eagerness to put the army into a condition to act offensively beyond the Rhine.

"Moreau, after having with patriotic virtue, and the disinterestedness of real glory, seconded the views of the government to reinforce the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, neglected nothing to enable the army of the Rhine and Moselle, after having furnished powerful succours, to be ready at the opening of the campaign, to maintain the splendour of its reputation, and make up by its good organisation for what it had lost, not in strength, but in number.

"Such were the preparations on the Rhine. Circumstances had increased the difficulty, and we should be unjust if we did not give to our ancient colleague, Petiet, the minister of war, the honour due to his foresight, and his successful endeavours to render the plans of the government practicable.

"But Bonaparte skilfully profiting by the changes in the positions of the imperial forces, the consternation which his late victories had occasioned, and the irresolution which was indicated by the change of the generals, and the counter-marches of the troops, had already arrived on the Piave, while he was supposed to be still before Rome; he forced the passage of the Tagliamento, and manœuvred skilfully before the Archduke, who had just arrived with good troops indeed, but without any fixed and well-combined plan, and who was forced to yield to the judicious arrangements of his rival, and to French impetuosity. To what miracle shall I call your attention? Shall I paint the scaling of Gradisca and the surrender of that fortress? or the heroic

combat of Tarvis? or the invasion of the Tyrol? Behold that great barrier which no modern people had passed, carried as it were by storm; the basin of the Danube, the heart of the hereditary states, the walls of Vienna, laid open to the eyes and to the arms of the French. Dangers so urgent compelled the Emperor hastily to recall the remainder of his forces from the banks of the Rhine and the bulwarks of the empire, to cover his own possessions. He had almost reason to regret the successes of Prince Charles, who for empty advantages had removed to a distance the forces which at that moment he would have been glad to concentrate.

"To Generals Hoche and Moreau, and their brave armies, was confided the task of detaining and combating the armies which could neither be recalled nor supported, but which behind fortresses, rivers, and formidable positions braved the ardour of our warriors on the Rhine, who were stimulated by the success of their brethren; impatient and provoked at having had no share in the last laurels, at not having concurred, by their last efforts, in the peace which they had so much desired, and which was on the point of being concluded so far from them, and in the object which they had so nearly attained during the preceding campaign.

"It is these last efforts crowned by victory that we this day celebrate."

It was in this manner that I answered from the tribune the lying insinuations of the Directory. But it was too late; and our denials only served to confirm more and more the unfavourable opinions which were propagated in the ranks of the army of Italy. We had nothing to oppose to these underhand attacks but the firmness of our principles, the independence of our opinions, and our care to obtain the public esteem. We had, however, taken some precautions for our personal safety. We had especially directed our attention to the guard of the Legislative Body, the superintendence of which had been especially confided to me by the Committees of the Inspectors of the Hall, to which I belonged, as I have already mentioned. This guard, which consisted of about 1,500 effective men, was in a great measure composed of old French guards, who had not quitted Paris since the revolution of 1789, and had formed the corps of grenadiers of the Convention. The corps had been suc-

cessively recruited with individuals of very bad character. I endeavoured to introduce strict discipline. Supported by the minister of war, Petiét, I sent to the army of the Rhine all the men who had been missing three times at muster. I was likewise well supported by the Minister of Police, Cochon Laparrent, formerly a member of the Constituent Assembly, a man whose intentions were very good. As he had sat in the Convention and voted for the death of the King, the Directory had not yet any distrust of him. General Moreau and General Desaix, with whom I corresponded, replaced these men by subalterns and privates whose conduct was unexceptionable. But this recomposition of our guard was not yet sufficiently advanced, and events rapidly succeeded each other. I caused a colonel of the guard to be nominated by General Moreau. It was the Adjutant-Commandant Ramel, who was afterwards enveloped in the proscription of the 18th of Fructidor, and whom a more unhappy fate rendered the victim of the rage of the ultra-royalists at Toulouse, where he was the general in command, and was massacred in 1815, after the second restoration.

I had been confidentially informed by Desaix of the discovery which had been made, in the papers taken among the baggage of General Klingling, of the conspiracy of Pichegru. General Moreau had not thought fit to denounce his former companion in arms to the Executive Directory, which had at that time only some indications and vague suspicions. Desaix, when he made this communication, had required my word of honour that I would observe the most profound secrecy on the subject, and that I should only make use of it to direct, as circumstances might require, my personal conduct and that of my friends, without risking the discovery of a secret which was not my own. I did my utmost in several conversations with General Pichegru to lead him to some communication respecting his designs, but without success. I endeavoured to make him understand the real situation of affairs, the state of the public mind, with which he was ill acquainted, and the nullity of the means of changing the forms of government. I obtained from him only vague answers, protestations of perfect agreement with us, to effect by degrees ameliorations which alone could give strength to the party of the well-disposed. I remained convinced that he had no fixed plan,

that he had renounced his old projects since he had left the command of the army, and that he contented himself with temporising, and concealing the embarrassment of his situation from the sanguine men who had expected to find in him a powerful support, and to whom he was forced to avoid giving offence on account of his previous conduct.

The agitation of the partisans of the Directory, their various publications, the meeting of the old terrorists, the frequent messages to the army of Italy to secure the assent and co-operation of General Bonaparte, gave daily indications that the crisis was at hand. We resolved to make a last attempt to influence the Directory. Portalis and his brother-in-law Simeon, who were particularly acquainted with Barras, having been very intimate with his family in Provence, undertook to pay him a visit. Barras was at that time the most accessible of the three members who composed the majority of the Directory. He was not well disposed towards Rewbel, who distrusted his very complex connexions, sometimes with the aristocrats and sometimes with the terrorists. As Barras was the man who conducted the intrigue, Rewbel was uneasy and terrified at the issue which it might have in such hands. Barras listened with great attention to the statement of the two able and celebrated advocates of the national cause. They demonstrated to him that the majority in the two chambers being certainly favourable to the constitutional party, since Portalis was President of the Council of Ancients, and Simeon President of the Council of Five Hundred, it was more safe and more honourable to govern by this influence, in conformity with the true spirit of the Constitution and with general opinion, than to persist in destroying it by violence, without knowing whither this movement might lead the government. The dictator (for he had assumed the power and all the manners of one) seemed to be moved, and so struck with the arguments of Portalis and Simeon that he appointed another conference for the next day, to which I was invited with my two friends.

We found Barras in his brilliant Franco-Spanish costume, and ready to go to the sitting of the Directory. It was the first time that I saw this director, who is a celebrated character, since he twice had in his hands the fate of France. The conversation turned upon the points which had already

been discussed the preceding day. His principal objection was the inveterate hatred which he entertained of Carnot; he said that he could not resolve to vote with him, even though approving the change of system which we proposed. I begged him to observe that if he was convinced, as he said, of our good faith and the justness of our views, his repugnance to the character of Carnot ought not to get the better of what policy required. He appeared to yield to our arguments, and though all his acts have belied his promises, I believe even now that he was sincere at that moment. "Are you decided?" I asked: "may we depend upon your word, do you give it on the honour of a gentleman?" "Yes, on the honour of a republican gentleman: what pledges do you require?" Our answer was ready. "We require a recomposition of the ministry, in which M. de Talleyrand shall have the department of foreign affairs, Cochon Laparrent, now minister of police, to succeed Merlin as minister of justice, and Petiet to remain minister of war."

We took leave with some hope of having saved our country, but the illusion lasted only two days. The animosity of Barras against Carnot, the influence of the persons around him, and especially the counsels of Merlin and Treilhard, diverted him from a resolution, the execution of which would have required a very different character, more knowledge, and especially different sentiments. M. de Talleyrand was indeed made minister for foreign affairs, but Merlin remained in the department of justice; the minister of police was dismissed and his office filled by an obscure agent of the faction. Endeavours were openly made to disorganise the legislative body; the denunciations, the placards, the inflammatory motions in the clubs, all warned us that the decisive blow was at hand. The conspired directors waited only for the arrival of a division of the army of Italy which they had required from General Bonaparte, the command of which he had given to General Augereau, a man entirely devoted to the party of the convention. Addresses from the army of Italy, drawn up in the most threatening style, had preceded the march and the arrival at Paris of General Augereau's division. It had been easy to induce General Bonaparte to give the faction this support, without which it is probable that the directors would not have ventured to brave public opinion and to run the risk of reviving in the

old National Guard and in the population of Paris the recollections and the resentments of the 13th of Vendemiaire.

Though General Bonaparte was inclined to support the men to whom he was indebted for his elevation, though the distrust which the Directory manifested respecting the sentiments of General Moreau, and the disposition of the army of the Rhine, must necessarily induce his rival to declare for the party of the Directory, it was, however, necessary to deceive him, and to represent to him the majority of the two councils as entirely under the influence of the Bourbons, and conspired to effect a counter-revolution.

We remained disarmed in the presence of one of those brave legions which had just vanquished three Austrian armies; it was led by one of the most valiant chiefs; it had a good train of artillery, and was highly flattered by the numerous agents of the Directory; surely this was more than sufficient to restrain the fermentation of the people of Paris. I did not conceal from myself that the evil was without remedy. I hardly ever quitted my post in the meeting of the commissions of inspectors at the Pavilion Marsan. I again urged Pichegru to explain himself respecting the means of attack or defence which his friends might have prepared. He remained quite unmoved, and scarcely took any part in our last and useless deliberations. Some rallying signs, gray coats with black collars, appeared here and there in Paris. There were vehement declamations against the Directory; insolent threats were heard; we were overwhelmed with addresses, incitements, offers of service, but nothing was or could be organised. We endeavoured, however, for the ease of our consciences, to re-establish the National Guard. The project of law passed in the Council of Five Hundred and was carried to that of the Ancients. In the speech which I delivered on that occason (the last I ever spoke in that Assembly), I called to mind the principles of that great institution, which, notwithstanding some abuses which the different parties had made of it and the corruption that had been introduced into it, was and always will be the sheet-anchor of the representative government, for no revolution could ever destroy liberty and equality when the institution of the National Guard had taken root. I predicted, I declared to the Directory that it was going to commit suicide, and ruin the Republic. The very day on which I

pronounced this funeral oration I dined with Madame de Stael. The brilliant imagination of that celebrated woman, and her ambition for fame always led her into extremes; she was at that time entirely devoted to the Directory, notwithstanding her kind solicitude for her unhappy friends, who were victims in the issue of the drama, the intrigue and spirit of which had seduced her.

"Well," said she, when I appeared in the circle where the speakers of the two parties were assembled, "you have raised much dust to-day." "Not much," said I, "but even that is better than mud."

With my thoughts wholly taken up with fatal presages, I felt that I had need of passing some hours in the country in the bosom of my family. I could no longer reside in my house at Paris, in a remote quarter, Rue des Fosses du Temple, without running the risk of being attacked by the assassins of the Directory, who loudly proclaimed in the clubs *that the people should be avenged of its enemies in their own houses.*

Returning to Paris towards evening, some days before the 18th of Fructidor, I met M. T., a sensible man, and one of those who with good sentiments at the bottom, a sound judgment, but little firmness of character, yield to circumstances, mix in all societies, and desire to perform no other part than that of spectators. I had often met with him, and he had been employed in the offices of the general police; was well acquainted with Barras, and still more with some women who were intimate with him. "I am glad to meet with you," said he; "I passed yesterday evening and part of the night at the house of Barras; it was very seriously debated at this meeting whether it would be best to cut the throats of about forty members of the two Councils, or only to transport you to Cayenne. Many maintained the famous maxim that the dead alone never returned. In the end the resolution to transport you seemed to prevail. You may depend upon this as certain; all is ready—make your arrangements accordingly." I thanked him, and proceeded to the Pavilion Marsan, where my colleagues had already assembled, and were engaged in discussing reports which were more and more alarming, and endeavouring to appreciate the degree of credit to which they were entitled. It was the 15th of Fructidor. About ten o'clock at night the porter came and told me that somebody inquired for me, and requested

me to go out on very important business. I found in the ante-chamber Colonel R., commander of the battalion of the National Guard of the "Butte des Moulins," a man of a very ardent character, who was wholly devoted to our cause.

"I have something very important to communicate to you," said he, "but we must be alone. Have you sufficient confidence in me to accompany me to the garden." I followed him. He took me under the trees in the most solitary part below the terrace, towards the Seine, and addressed me in the following terms: "You have but one moment left; you cannot doubt of the crime which is meditated against your persons. I propose to rid you this very night of the two directors, Rewbel and Barras. I am certain of having them put to death, and am not uneasy for the result, if you engage, on your word of honour, to declare in the tribune of the Council of Ancients, that, to save the republic, you have commanded this attack. You will nominate two new directors, and all will submit."

"You propose to me to order an assassination?" I exclaimed. "You call that an attack? but suppose that civil war is declared, what means would you have to execute such an attack?" "I have," said he, "at my disposal a hundred brave men, as resolute as myself. The attack is easy, and we incur but little danger. The Directory has taken no other precaution than to have a guard of twenty-five men at the gate of the Palace of the Luxembourg. You know that the arcades on the right and left of the gate are open, and are only four or five feet above the level of the street. We shall scale these arcades, and attack the guard in the rear, by the two sides of the gate. The picquet will be surprised and dispersed in the court-yard, or in the street. During this skirmish some of us will enter by the portico, on the right, seize and stab Rewbell in his apartment on the ground-floor, while some others will ascend by the portico on the left, to the apartment of Barras on the first-floor. I promise you that before the alarm can be given at the Little Luxembourg and the barracks of the guard of the Directory, Rewbel and Barras will no longer exist; we cannot so easily get to the apartment of Larevcillère, who lodges in the Little Luxembourg, above Carnot, on account of the vicinity of the barracks."

"God forbid," said I, "that I should authorise or suffer the assassination even of the most guilty man; besides, your

project is a mad one. Do I not know that it is impossible in the circumstances in which we are placed to collect such a number of men, resolved to attempt so rash an undertaking?"

"Since you doubt," said he, "pronounce in a loud voice this watch-word, '*Famille!*'" I did so, and we were instantly surrounded by men, who till that moment had concealed themselves each behind a tree. The darkness prevented my judging of their numbers. They observed the most profound silence. "It is enough," said I to Col. R.; "I am satisfied—let us retire."

While we were returning to the Pavilion of Marsan, I thanked him for his zeal, and dissuaded him from his horrible undertaking, refusing to take the criminal responsibility of it in any manner, either on myself, or in the name of my friends. I must here add that the Emperor Napoleon having heard of this adventure, through what channel I know not, made me tell him all the particulars, and said, "You were a fool; you don't understand revolutions."

I did not share in the illusion of those of my colleagues, who flattered themselves with finding a support in the National Guard, and in the mass of citizens. "Nothing was wanting," they said, "but a leader, to produce a great insurrection;" but they forgot the dreadful trial of the reign of terror. I had too well learnt what were the consequences of abandoning the power to a faction compromised by its own excesses. I knew that a revolution against an established government, however unjust and oppressive, is not to be effected unless it can be supported by a legal pretext, and authorities recognised by the people. It is then only that the strength of parties is divided: the crowd of the timid or indifferent swells the mass, and gives to the lever all the power which it requires to raise and to overturn. Doubtless, if, as in 1789, we had had such elements, we should not have failed of finding a leader. I have said why it could not be Pichegru. A man who was much his superior, one of the best generals of our army, and whose character and daring spirit peculiarly qualified him for such an undertaking, I mean Kleber, was then at Paris. He had not been employed by the Directory, and had retired to a country-house at Chaillot, near that of my brother, Saint Fulcrand. He asked to see me, and I went to him accordingly. "Have you any means of resistance?" said he.

"None that can inspire even the rashest man with confidence to undertake any thing with a chance of success."

"If you were but sure of your guard," added Kleber, "and of some battalions of national guards, such as they were on the 13th of Vendemiaire, Augereau and his division would not embarrass me. And it is very probable that when the action had once begun, the artillery, the commander of which is entirely devoted to me, would come over to my side." I acquainted General Kleber with the composition of the guard, which was already more than half completed. It was my duty to refuse, in the name of my colleagues, his generous offers, and to renounce the useless attempt at resistance in arms, which could only serve to justify the criminal attempt of the Directory.

The crime was committed two days afterwards. On the evening of the 17th of Fructidor I was present at a very long sitting of the Committee of Inspectors. I was very much fatigued, and had retired about one o'clock in the morning with General Pichegru and Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, who accompanied me as far as my brother's house, in the Rue Neuve des Capuchins, now called Rue Joubert. They both lodged in this quarter, and were to be informed, and acquaint me if any thing passed during the night. On my part, I had desired Colonel Ramel to send me an orderly man at the slightest alarm, and to assemble his company in the court-yard of the barracks next to the garden of the Tuileries.

About six o'clock in the morning Villaret-Joyeuse sent me word that General Augereau, with the infantry of his division and the artillery, had just entered the garden of the Tuileries, and had occupied all the posts. I dressed in haste, while a cabriolet was preparing for me, put on a blue dress with a military hat, and a sabre under my arm. I proceeded with all speed through the Rue Caumartin and the Rue Neuve of Luxembourg to the barracks of the guard, in the ancient convent of the Capuchins. now demolished, on the site of which the fine hotel of the finance department has been built. I was going to enter the court-yard, when a negro servant of Colonel Ramel, marked with sabre-wounds, and bleeding profusely, threw himself before my horse, and told me that he was sent by his master to warn me not to approach the Tuileries; that Colonel Ramel had been assaulted and ill-treated by his own grenadiers, mingled with

the troop of Augereau; that his epaulets had been torn off; that he was arrested, and that search was making for me. This information prevented me from entering the barracks, where a similar fate doubtless awaited me, but did not divert me from my resolution to repair to my post at the Pavilion Marsan, where my colleagues, especially those who lived near the palace of the Tuileries, were probably assembled. I alighted at the iron gate and entered, after having shown to the double sentinels my card as a deputy.

When I was at the foot of the Pavilion, and ready to go by the little staircase, which communicated with the garden, to the apartment where the sittings were held, I perceived at the windows several of my colleagues, who made signs to me, which I could not understand. I stopped to consider what was passing around me; the troops which lined the terrace had piled their arms; some officers were walking about. I at first did as they did; they had no distrust of me. I approached the staircase, and at length resolved to go up, when a small paper packet fell at my feet. I was so near the soldiers and the sentinel at the staircase, that I put my foot on the little packet in order to take it up when I was unobserved. At the moment that I was stooping, General Verdières, the very same who had just arrested my colleagues, came rapidly down the staircase and almost touched my shoulder; he knew me very well, and two days before I had had some conversation with him; had he looked at me, he certainly would have arrested me. I picked up the small parcel, which contained a note written in pencil, ballasted with a piece of bread; it contained only these few words, "*We are arrested; you will be so: fly! You will be of more use to us if at liberty.*"

I withdrew from the Pavilion, proceeding slowly to the iron gate. At this moment a deputy, B., of the Council of Five Hundred, came up to me much frightened, asking me what was passing. I took him by the arm, and said, "Restrain yourself; be calm, and leave all to me; I will endeavour to effect our escape from this place." My dress, my military hat, and the sabre which I carried under my arm, gave me the appearance of an officer. After having gone some paces round the last piles of arms, and perceiving no officer of rank, I went with a firm step direct to the gate, still leaning on my companion. The four sentinels, two belonging to our guard who ought to have recognised

me crossed their pieces before the half-open gate, and said, "Nobody goes out!" Then, swearing in an angry voice, I kicked their arms aside, and passing between them, stopped at the other side of the gate. Turning round, I cried, "This is the second time you change the watch-word! Call the corporal!" While they were answering, I slowly withdrew, turned back a little, following backwards and forwards the steps of the outer sentinel, and when he turned in the contrary direction, finding myself free, as well as my companion, I left him, and ran with all speed through the Rue de l'Echelle.

I stopped in the Rue Saint Anne, and seeing that nobody followed me, joined a group of seven or eight persons, who were reading the proclamation which the Directory had caused to be posted up in the night, and the documents which inculpated Pichegru, and mixed us up with the pretended royalist conspiracy. After having rapidly passed my eyes over this infamous placard, I hastened to my friend Tronçon-Ducoudray, Rue Notre Dâme des Victoires; I told him all that I had just seen; the arrest of my friends; the manner in which they had warned me; my miraculous deliverance; and the proclamation of the Directory. He could not restrain his indignation. "They must assassinate me at the tribune!" he exclaimed; "I will go to the Assembly; I will unveil their infamous manœuvres to France." I endeavoured, but in vain, to dissuade him from this resolution. "I conceive," said he, "that they have thought to frighten us by accusing and arresting some members of the Committee. You especially, on account of the influence which they suppose you to possess over the guard of the Legislative Body, and the national guard. But they would not dare to go further. Think of your safety, and leave me alone." I again entreated him to provide for his own security. Though he was not a member of the Committee, I did not doubt that he was comprehended in the proscription of the principal speakers of the two Councils. I embraced him, never to see him again.

As I was leaving Tronçon-Ducoudray, I met Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, who was going to him. He had received certain information of the extent of the list of the proscribed, and urged me not to delay seeking for an asylum. He was himself threatened. The experience of revolutions is vain for honest men; they never learn how to divine what passes

in the minds of the wicked, who alone have all the foresight of guilt; even to the very last of their crimes, their audacity takes the most courageous and most cautious men of honour by surprise. Those members of the two Councils who had heard the signal of alarm, had gone first to the Tuileries. Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, after having sent me word by a servant, had gone in his carriage to take up General Pichegru, to convey him to the Pavilion Marsan. Luckily for me, he had forgotten the number of my brother's house.

After the arrest of those members of the Committee who were assembled in the Pavilion Marsan, the officer to whom this expedition had been confided was going to take them away. They refused, declaring that they would not quit their post, unless they were torn from it by violence. It was necessary to ask for new orders; directions were soon received to convey them, dead or alive, to the prison of the Temple. One of them, Bourdon de l'Oise, formerly a member of the Convention, was called out of the room, and told that he might escape; he returned into the room, informed his colleagues of the proposal that had just been made to him, declared that he should blush at having merited it, and swore to die with them. While they were dragging Pichegru to the staircase, an officer said to him, "There you are then, general of banditti?" "Yes, when I commanded you," replied he coolly.

While the Directory was thus mutilating the national representation, it committed on its own colleagues, Barthélemy and Carnot, the same crime, which it honoured with the denomination of a stroke of policy. Carnot, being warned by vigilant friends, escaped through a door which communicated from the back of his apartments to the gardens of the Luxembourg. Barthélemy, blockaded and surprised, was arrested and submitted to his fate with stoical resignation. Barras caused a proposal to be made to him to give his resignation, assuring him that on those terms he should be restored to liberty; he refused, observing, that in the situation in which he was placed, such an act would be of no validity. He was urged to ante-date his resignation. He answered, that without doubt they wanted to strip him of his constitutional security, in order to try him by martial law; but that when he accepted the dangerous office of a Director, he had devoted himself without reserve. He was taken to the Temple. The triumvirs manifested a barbarous

joy in their triumph. I have learnt from an eyewitness of these shameful felicitations, that one of their most intimate advisers did me the honour very eagerly to ask the officer who was giving an account of the arrest of the members of the Council of Ancients, whether they had laid hold on General Dumas; and, on his answering "not yet," "so much the worse," said he, "you will find him again some day; he is a ghost (*un revenant*)."

Independently of the proclamation which I had read, the police had caused several other placards to be posted up. One decree announced that all those who should violate property; all who should excite to pillage; all who proposed the re-establishment of royalty; all the partisans of the Duke of Orleans, should be tried by martial law. This, under the pretext of maintaining order, was threatening with the penalty of death all citizens who should take any part whatever in the events of the day; a precaution equally perfidious and useless, since the people long subjugated by the usurpers of their sovereignty and their rights, were in this despondency but too docile to the yoke. Another decree announced that the Council of Five Hundred would, for the present, meet at the Odeon, and that of the Ancients at the Ecole de Santé, because their palaces had become places of meeting for the seditious. No disorder, no disturbances could be alleged as a pretext for this imputation. The Directors affirmed, in one of these documents, that the posts which surrounded the Directory had been attacked during the night by Lyonese, by emigrants, companies of Jesus and of the Sun, and by men furnished with cards by the Committee of the Inspectors of the two Councils. The great proclamation denounced the royalist conspiracy, and promised that the proofs should be very shortly communicated to the representatives of the people, who had remained faithful to their cause. This denunciation was supported by some informal and insignificant papers, arranged under pompous titles. Under that of correspondence, there was a letter of recommendation addressed to Imbert Colomés, member of the Council of Five Hundred, from the Prince de Condé; the report of a spy, made to Count d'Entraigues, at Venice, two years before, found, it was said, in his portfolio, and containing all the charges against General Pichegru; some papers already known in the affair of Villeheurnois, and in which

the deputies, who had been only indicated by the agents of Monsieur, were this time named; a new declaration of Duverne de Presle which explained, according to the will of the Directory, the manœuvres employed by the royalists to influence the elections, and implicated some members of the Council of Five Hundred; lastly, a part of those famous letters from Basle, which had served to bring about the condemnation of Lemaître.

Notwithstanding the threatening display of force which the Directory had made, a great part of the members of the two Councils repaired to their respective halls, and courageously protested against these acts of violence. Following the example of their respectable Presidents, Simeon, in the Council of Five Hundred, and Lafond-Ladebat in that of Ancients, they yielded only to force, and after having been expelled by bayonets, after having seen their Presidents torn from their chairs, they again met and made a new attempt, and appeared in greater numbers to open their sittings. Augereau could not disperse them but by charging them with his cavalry. Lafond-Ladebat rallied, in his house, such of the members of the Council of Ancients as had been able to take refuge there. The house was surrounded as containing a seditious assembly; all those who were in it, among whom were Lafond-Ladebat, Barbé-Marbois, Tronçon-Ducoudray, Dupont de Namur, Goupil de Préfeln, were arrested and taken to the Temple. Villaret-Joyeuse and several other of our friends, members of the Council of Five Hundred, were seized, and experienced the same fate.

While the presidents and members of the two Councils were thus delivered up to the insults of a licentious soldiery, expelled from their palaces, pursued into their houses, torn from the arms of their wives and children, the Directory, taking advantage of the general consternation, hastened to cover its crimes with the appearance of the very forms which it had just violated. The faithless guards of the Legislative Body surrounded the Odeon and the Ecole de Santé, where the Directory had convoked the factious minority of the two Councils. Nobody could enter by means of the ordinary medal of the deputies, but only with the particular card distributed among the deputies designated by the Directors, and among confidants who were ordered to fill the seats, and thus to conceal the insufficiency of the number of the pretended representatives of the people. Not-

withstanding this trick, the number of the voters was so small that circular letters were sent to all the members, and special messengers to those whose weak or too circumspect conduct had merited this affront. They were urged to repair to the places indicated for these illegal meetings: several faithful members were deceived; some went to deliberate, and were on the point of voting themselves for their own transportation.

I purposely omit, my dear son, the detail of anecdotes uninteresting to you, and which, if these Memoirs were ever to be published, might revive recollections which it is better to extinguish. It seems to me that contemporary writers, when they are sincere, ought to refrain from implacable resentment—that when they describe the errors into which individuals have been hurried away—when they exhibit the excesses of the passions—when they have to paint characters, they ought not to exhibit any more of them than the truth of history requires. The directorial conspiracy of the 18th of Fructidor is seen entirely with its causes and effects, in the law of the 19th of Fructidor, which the Triumvirs dictated to their mutilated parliament. This law surpassed the expectation of the Conventionalists, who were accomplices of the Directory. It destroyed, even to the foundation, French liberty; it annulled the elections of the people; annihilated the freedom of public worship, and the liberty of the press; it re-established the popular societies, encouraged informers, and deprived the people of all social securities.

CHAPTER III.

Asylum in Paris—Passport to Denmark—Escape—Departure from France—Arrival at Rotterdam—Meet with the Duke of Brunswick at Osnaburg—Arrival at Hamburg—Reception by Count Stolberg—Residence in Holstein—Arrival of Portalis and his son—Pamphlet on the 18th of Fructidor—Projects of General Bonaparte after the treaty of Campo Formio—My wife and eldest daughter come to visit me—The work called "Précis des Evénemens Militaires"—the prisoners of Olmütz come to Holstein—The 18th of Brumaire—Departure for France—Meeting with the Duke de Chosieul.

I now return to my personal narrative. I had acted my part; and as I could not afford any assistance to my friends,

I had only to think of my own safety, and once more to tear myself from the bosom of my country, to avoid giving my family fresh causes of distress and alarm.

On leaving the house of Tronçon Ducoudray, I took refuge with M. Tarte, a grocer, in the Rue Richelieu, at the Rue Saint Marc, a citizen with whose probity I was well acquainted. He concealed me in an apartment on the second floor, which was to let, and undertook, to carry to Madame Dumas a note informing her of what had happened to me, and of the place of my concealment. As I did not doubt that domiciliary visits would soon be made to search for and seize the proscribed, I requested that a more secure asylum, and in a less frequented part of the city, might be found for me. As soon as it was dark, my valet-de-chambre, Bertin, came to inform me that my brother Saint Fulcrand and my wife had found the desired retreat. It was agreed that at nine o'clock precisely a hackney-coach should stop before M. Tarte's warehouse, and that when the person who should alight returned into the carriage, after having made some purchases, I should mount up behind as a servant. I was thus transferred from the house of M. Tarte to that of M. Sennepart, an Inspector of the Commissariat Department, an intimate friend of my brother, and of my brother-in-law Delarue. He was a generous and devoted friend; a man of great resolution, which I never knew to fail him on any occasion. He lived in the Rue Neuve des Mathurins, where he had very pretty apartments in the Mezzanine story, in front. I was received by him and Madame Sennepart with the most cordial hospitality.

At the further end of the apartments, in a dressing-closet belonging to the bed-room, there was an issue to a secret staircase, the most convenient and the best contrived that can be conceived; it led directly to the street, and the door was so well disguised by the exterior decorations of the house that it was impossible to suspect its existence. The entrance to it from the closet was, if possible, still better concealed; one of the cloak-pins at the back sufficed to open it.

As I had foreseen, it was not long before the police made domiciliary visits. Two days after my arrival at M. Sennepart's a commissary came at ten o'clock at night, to visit his apartments. Sentinels were placed inside the house at

the street-door. I hid myself on the secret staircase, close to the little door which led into the street, at a short distance from the principal entrance, ready to escape without encountering any obstacle, in case the secret of the closet should be discovered by the commissary. Fortunately he did not succeed. I heard the moving of the furniture, and of the dresses hung upon the pegs in the closet. I was very well satisfied that my place of concealment became more secure in consequence of this search, and that my generous host would henceforth be less exposed to danger for harbouring me. In this confidence M. and Madame Sennepart themselves persuaded me to receive some visits from my wife, in order to concert measures for insuring my escape. I decided on submitting to this third proscription, to leave the capital, and, if possible, the territory of the Republic.

During the week which I passed at M. Sennepart's, I was exactly informed of all that passed by my colleague Lebrun; almost the only one of my friends who had not been placed on the list of proscription, and who, in a letter which he wrote to me on the subject, said that his most ardent wish was to take advantage of this oversight to serve and assist his unfortunate colleagues, according as subsequent events might afford him opportunities for doing so. I shall mention, in the sequel, how this prudent and enlightened statesman found means to fulfil this engagement. I was deeply affected with the fate of my colleagues, and almost reproached myself for not sharing it with them.

M. de Dreyer, the Danish minister, with whom I was acquainted, furnished me at the solicitation of my wife, with a false passport as a Danish subject under the name Elias Funck. This passport was laid before M. de Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs, who, knowing that it was intended for me, did not hesitate to sign it. I was justly sensible of the value of so signal a service, and have always retained a most grateful recollection of it.

This was a great point gained; but still it was necessary for me to leave Paris, in spite of the vigilance exercised at the barriers by the agents of the police of the Directory. A description of my person had been sent to all the posts, and the faces of the speakers who often appeared in the tribune, were as well known as those of the actors in the theatres. My wife came to bid me farewell, and brought me my passport; but she did not venture to bring her chil-

dren. The worthy Sennepart consoled her, telling her that he would undertake to convey me out of Paris, and that he would not leave me till I had passed the frontier. In his character of Inspector in the Commissariat Department, he obtained a mission to Belgium, dressed himself in his uniform as an officer of the national guard, and had two good horses put to his carriage, driven by a servant on whom he could depend. We got into the carriage in broad daylight at the door of the house; and when we were within thirty paces of the Barrière de Clichy, the postilion agreeably to the orders which he had received, quickened his speed, and passed the barrier at full gallop, as if the horses had run away; Sennepart, at the same time, putting his head out of the window, and thus hiding me, cried out, "Stop! stop!" swearing at the postilion. He called to a gendarme, whom he had nearly run over, and showing him his papers, apologised for the stupidity of his postilion. The gendarme seeing the uniform of the national guard, suspected nothing, and ordered the postilion to drive on.

We took post-horses at the first stage on the road to Senlis. We did not meet with any obstacle, but had, however, a momentary alarm, when on approaching the town of Arras, where we intended to take a few hours' rest, we were overtaken and passed by a courier, who preceded a post-chaise. He informed us that it was the carriage of the plenipotentiaries of the Directory, who were on their way to Lille to treat with Lord Malmesbury. One of them was Treilhard, who, if he had been alone, and had met with me, would have pretended not to know me. We took care not to risk the interview, but suffered the carriage to pass us, and did not stop till we reached Antwerp, where we put up at an inn in the suburb of Breda. The gates of the city were closed; I felt myself perfectly safe, and had just laid down, when Sennepart came and related a conversation which he had just had with an individual who had observed us with great attention. This person asked Sennepart for news of Paris, and acquiring confidence from the answers he received, threw aside all reserve. He was nothing less than an agent of the police, who was instructed to examine all strangers. He had received descriptions of the proscribed persons who had fled from Paris, and insisted on seeing me. He consented to wait till the morning, but Sennepart had caused post-horses to be taken, which were put to our

carriage without noise, and at one o'clock in the morning we set out for a small fishing port on the Great Meuse, where I embarked alone, after having embraced and very inadequately thanked my generous companion.

The King of England's finest yacht would have been less agreeable to me than the half-decked vessel, manned by two fishermen, with whom I made a bargain to take me to Rotterdam. I was now able to breathe freely, without fear of being further pursued. But with what a heavy heart did I quit the French shore! What recollections, what melancholy thoughts filled my mind during the two tedious nights which I passed on board the skiff! I was, however, free; I knew that in a few hours my friend Sennepart would announce to my family that I was saved; while my unhappy friends, chained and transported like vile malefactors, had to endure the torments of a horrible exile, and left to their afflicted families nothing but a moral certainty of their death after cruel sufferings. These reflections were more distressing than the fatigues of a voyage which was delayed by contrary winds and currents; though the distance was but short, I did not arrive at Rotterdam till the third day.

I there met with Alexander Romœuf, one of the aid-de-camps of General Lafayette, who, after residing in England during the first reign of terror, had come back to France about the time of my return from Switzerland. The law of the 19th of Fructidor, which signalised the second reign of terror, leaving to the officers of the military establishment of the prisoner of Olmütz no hope of finding an asylum in the French territory, Romœuf, like myself, was going to Hamburg, and I could not have wished for a more agreeable travelling companion. We took the road to Westphalia, passing through Bentheim and Osnaburg. Having stopped at the latter place to take some repose, we learnt a few moments after our arrival that a Prussian general, with some officers of rank, had just put up at the same inn as ourselves. It was the old Duke of Brunswick, who was going, I think, to Oldenburg. Being informed that two Frenchmen, who had come from France by way of Holland, were under the same roof, he expressed a wish to see us. Though my *incognito* was of no importance, yet, if I had gratified the prince's curiosity, our enemies would not have failed to convert this fortuitous meeting into a

supplementary proof of a conspiracy, and of an understanding with foreign powers. Romœuf alone showed himself, chatted with the officers in the Duke's suite, and left no suspicion resting on his travelling companion, the Danish merchant, Elias Funck.

My only object now was to join my friends, Alexander and Charles de Lameth, who, as well as the Duke d'Aguillon, had quitted England, and taken refuge at Hamburg. They had there, as I have before mentioned, set up a small retail business, which had scarcely any other object than to give them a settlement, and thus insure their security. This meeting was a delightful consolation to me. Two other Constitutionalists, with whom I was likewise very intimate, M. de Riccé and the Abbé Louis (who has since been three times minister of finance), had also established a commercial house at Hamburg on a rather large scale. They had entered into partnership with two merchants, one a Genevese, the other, M. Lom, of Bayonne. I placed in this mercantile and banking-house 40,000 francs, which my brother, Saint Fulcrand, had intrusted to me, leaving to me any profit that it might produce. This, with the small sum in gold that I had been able to bring with me, was my only resource during my exile.

It was my first intention to settle at Hamburg, hoping that, like my friends, and on the same grounds, I might enjoy the same security. It was not to be so: I was soon informed that the Directory was causing search to be made after the proscribed of the 18th of Fructidor, and was resolved to demand their expulsion from those countries in which, for various reasons, its influence was sufficiently great to compel even this violation of the rights of hospitality. The example of Switzerland, and, above all, that of Holland, terrified the feeble governments of the states bordering on the invaded countries. My remaining at Hamburg might expose my friends to some risk; it was necessary that we should part. They endeavoured to procure me an asylum in the dominions of the King of Denmark, and meantime I retired to Wandsbeck, to a country-house in which Madame de Riccé had resided. This excellent lady, of the ancient family of Humpech,* was a widow when she married M. de Riccé, in order to share her fortune with him, and had died just before my arrival at

* Probably Hompesch.—*Tr.*

Hamburg. I passed several weeks at Wandsbeck in complete solitude, my friends being rarely able to see me. Among them I met the celebrated philosopher Jacobi; he professed our constitutional principles, was an enlightened observer of the progress of the French revolution, and took a lively interest in the victims of a disinterested zeal for the welfare of their country. He gave me the most touching proofs of his generous sentiments, which were warmly participated by his friends Count Christian de Stolberg, one of the bailiffs of Holstein, and his wife, the Countess Louisa, of the family of Reventlow. They resided at their estate at Tremsbüttel, where they offered to receive me, and I accordingly went thither with him.

Jacobi was a guardian angel to me. In the circumstances and the frame of mind in which I was, I could not have imagined a more happy or honourable retreat; a more agreeable asylum, or a society more consonant to my tastes, my sentiments, and my opinions. The Count and Countess Stolberg gave me the warmest and most cordial welcome; they invited me to remain with them, to share their hospitality. I accepted this generous offer, for which I could make no other return than the deep gratitude which filled my heart. The Count and Countess resided here throughout the year; the house was simple and spacious and in good condition; the site agreeable and very rural. The Count was about 55 years of age, and the Countess 50. They had no children, but they had brought up the two Misses de Hobe, the daughters of a friend. The eldest, a canoness, was about 30 years of age, and the youngest, whom they had adopted, about 14.

Their principal occupation was the cultivation of the fine arts. Count Christian de Stolberg and his brother Frederick had devoted themselves to them from their earliest youth, and the works which they have produced are a proof of their success. Count Christian, the eldest of the two brothers, is the most highly esteemed translator of Sophocles; the dead and the greater part of the living languages were equally familiar to him. He, as well as the Countess, spoke and wrote the French, English, and Italian languages with purity, and the Countess had read all the Latin authors. This happy pair, possessing only a moderate fortune, had passed the greater part of their life in a peaceful union, uninterrupted by any troubles. The Count was allied to the

principal families of Denmark and Holstein, among whom, those of Bernstorff, Schimmelmann, Baudessin, Rantzau, &c. resided on their estates in the duchy of Holstein, where they met and mutually visited each other at different seasons of the year, especially during the winter. Count Frederick de Stolberg lived at Eutin, the residence of the Prince Bishop, Duke of Oldenburg, whose friend and minister he was. Count de Reventlow, the nearest relation of the Countess Louise, lived at his fine estate of Emkendorf, near Kiel.

I have only spoken of the external advantages of my worthy hosts and of their accomplishments; when admitted to an intimate acquaintance with them, I soon learnt to appreciate the good qualities of their heart, their elevation of soul, their religious philosophy, their noble independence, and their inexhaustible beneficence to all who approached them. They listened with the most indulgent interest to the narrative of the events of which I have been witness, to the account of my various travels, and especially to the exposition of the situation of my unhappy country, and of my last misfortunes. I was very uneasy about the fate of my colleagues, and of the small number of those who, like myself, had been able to escape and leave France. I was particularly concerned for Portalis, who was blind, wandering about Switzerland with his son, and certainly pursued by the agents of the Directory. At length I received news from him: he had taken refuge at Fribourg in the Brisgau! He was then alone and very unhappy. I communicated his letter to my host, who, without hesitating a moment, proposed to me to send for him to Tremsbüttel. The Count de Reventlow, who happened to be present, claimed (this was his expression) the advantage of sharing the honour of this hospitality, and offered to receive my friend Portalis with his son at his country-seat at Emkendorff. Notwithstanding the severity of the season (it was in the month of January, 1798) they soon came and joined me at Tremsbüttel, whence we took them to Emkendorff. Count Reventlow and Countess Julia, an angel of a woman, of whom I shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, received Portalis and his son as I myself had been received at Tremsbüttel.

The tranquillity of my retreat, the consolations which were lavished upon me, were not sufficient to divert me from my painful reflections on the situation of France, on the cruel destiny of my colleagues, and of the fate that

awaited my family. I had pretty frequent occasions to correspond with them; my wife kept me constantly informed of the most minute events which might interest me. I eagerly devoured the newspapers of France and England. My host made me practise reading in German those of Vienna and Hamburg. Miss de Hobe, who spoke my language as fluently as her own, particularly undertook this task. I employed the greater part of the day in reading historical works and in writing memoirs, of which I have unhappily preserved only a few fragments. Among these fragments there is a pamphlet almost entire, under the title of "*Temoignage de Mathieu Dumas, Membre du Conseil des Anciens, sur la Révolution du* 18*th Fructidor an V.*" (4th September, 1797.) I intended to publish this justification of my public conduct and that of my friends, but I was diverted from this design by the fear of aggravating the misfortunes of those who languished in the horrible exile of Sinamari, and of exposing several others whom the rod of the tyrants had not yet reached, and it may be supposed that in the sequel other circumstances induced me to renounce it. Some lines of the introduction and a short analysis of the division of this work may suffice, my dear Son, to give you an idea of it.

"From the constitutional formation of the legislative body to the moment when I was removed from my functions, I fulfilled them, conformably to the wishes of my constituents, with punctuality and according to the best of my judgment. Faithful to my oaths, I participated in the efforts of the majority of the national representatives to procure at length to the French people, the plenitude of their rights and their liberty, to establish order on the foundation of justice, to consolidate the revolution by strengthening the republican constitution.

"Our fellow-citizens, satisfied with our conduct, encouraged our zeal and founded upon our prudence the last hopes of the country. We were strong in their approbation, proud of having justified their suffrages, confident in respect for the laws.

"It is well known that a new parricide has destroyed these hopes, that a rod of iron has again struck France, and that we have no longer a country.

"Some friends, whose hospitable virtues I would eagerly publish if I did not fear to trouble the pleasure they have in exercising them by directing the eye of tyranny to them,

have found means to withdraw me from the punishment of transportation, but I undergo it in the persons of my unfortunate colleagues; I cannot divert my thoughts from that floating coffin in which a place was also assigned to me; and when, on this same ocean, propitious winds, friendly sails removed me, alas! too rapidly from France, I fancied that these winds conveyed even to me the complaints of these illustrious victims. These voices of truth, so carefully, so cruelly stifled, these eloquent voices, whose accustomed sound still filled my ear, were re-echoed at the bottom of my heart: they summoned me to overcome the repugnance which I feel to show myself for the last time to the eyes of the public.

"I could have wished in my obscure retreat to secure to myself, at least by absolute silence, the peace of oblivion and the consolations of wisdom; but it appears to me that in withdrawing from the scene of desolation I should not have fulfilled the whole of my task as a citizen, unless, as the faithful echo of innocence, I repeated truths which were expected by all the friends of liberty.

"Moved by these sentiments, decided by these motives alone, I offer to the nation the simple testimony which it would require of me, if recovering its rights of sovereignty, it had to decide itself on the fidelity of its representatives, the irrevocable organs of its will, who are accused all together.

"Accused, and by whom? By the magistrates to whom they have themselves delegated in the name of the nation the executive power and confided the public force. What do I say? accused! They have not been accused; they have been judged, without any accusation, even an illegal one, existing against them, without any formality, without having been heard. But here again I use expressions which these barbarians have profaned; there had been no trial, no condemnation, no judges; we have been all proscribed in a body, and when we have been made to go alive into the tomb, our political life, our character, our reputation are given up to bold, merciless calumniators, whom impunity has encouraged.

"Some more skilful hand will treat of this too ample subject. Among the great number of orators and writers, the proscription of whom could alone erect the throne of falsehood, the thunderbolt has struck only at hazard, and several

have escaped punishment, who will be French Sallusts. I content myself with preserving for them the traces of some facts, which it is important to describe, some characters with which I may have been better acquainted, happy if I can preserve in this work the stamp of truth, the dignity of misfortune and innocence."

Three principal objects called for my testimony; an inquiry into the causes of the 18th of Fructidor, the narrative of the event, the examination and the discussion of the facts. I accordingly divided my work as follows:—

The first part (the inquiry into the causes) was a rapid and very animated sketch of the events which had led to the overthrow of the constitution of 1791 and the usurpation of the constituent power, by the formation of the illegal assembly, under the name of the National Convention. It was necessary to go back to the developement of the first germs of the republican conspiracy, formed in the midst of the first Legislative Assembly. I had followed its progress, and demonstrated its inevitable effects, from the first excesses of the anti-monarchical party till the sanguinary anarchy which insured its triumph. Without suffering myself to be dazzled by the false pretext of patriotic enthusiasm, or by the brilliant success of our arms, which are due to the energy of the nation, and a real love of liberty which every where and at all times, especially among the French, produced warlike heroism, I unmasked without reserve the real authors of our civil discords, the hypocritical corruptors of opinion; I laid bare the bad faith, the perversity, the violence of these men who had become famous by their crimes, fully persuaded that their fatal talents, their eloquence, and even their courage, would not be able to obtain their pardon before the judgment-seat of history; I demonstrated, by following all the phases of the Republic under the Convention, that the same faction, the same common and exclusive interests, the same merciless pride of these levellers, had led to the catastrophe of the 18th of Fructidor.

The second part contained the narrative of the event, such as my fresh recollection represented it: I omitted no detail of the intrigues with which I had been acquainted, no trait of the characters of those who had borne the principal part. The simple narrative which I have just recorded in these memoirs, is but a succinct and too tame an extract from this part of the work, since I have almost reduced it to facts

which concerned myself personally. Let it be sufficient for you, my dear son: for I repeat it, if I were to bring forward word for word what I wrote at that time, I might appear to wish to gratify old resentments which have been long since extinguished.

Lastly, the third and concluding part was devoted to the examination and discussion of the actions which were calumniously imputed to us. This defensive plea was the principal object of the work, and I think that I had well accomplished it. I had proposed three questions in the following terms:—

"*In the first place*, did there exist before the 18th of Fructidor a conspiracy against the Republic, the object of which was, the re-establishment of a monarchical government under any shape? Were the chiefs of this conspiracy the most influential speakers in the two councils, two members of the executive Directory, the ministers and generals who participated in the opinions of the majority of the legislative chambers, and who had declared in favour of the constitutional party, and lastly, the eminent writers to whose censure public opinion gave some weight?

"*Secondly*, were the last elections to the legislative body and those of the administrators of the departments concerted with the agents of the pretended conspiracy? Were these elections null and void? Was the legislative power usurped and illegally exercised by the greater part of the members of the newly elected third?

"*Thirdly*, has the legislative body violated the constitution and the independence of the executive power? Was a seditious attack combined and directed by the committees of the inspectors of the palaces of the two councils? Was there an actual aggression on the part of the legislative body?"

Laying aside all prepossession for the opinions which I have constantly professed, I examined these three questions, as if the voice of my unhappy country had summoned me to the tribunal of posterity, and at that tribunal, feared only by those who are worthy of appearing before it, I had been interrogated by History. I did not enter into the discussion, till I had defined that terrible word, conspiracy, which has been so much abused; I said:

"There is a conspiracy against the safety of the state, when members of the community attack the authorities

who are the apparent life of the Government, and who profess to disregard it; when the national will meets with a combined resistance, which, by force or by fraud, renders vain every guarantee of the form of society; lastly, when a rebellious minority form a party, hostile to the laws, when those laws have been made in the name of the nation, and have been explicitly consented to by it."

All this discussion would now appear very superfluous: I think, however, that I ought to preserve here the faithful picture of the respective situation of the parties at this memorable epoch.

"Since the establishment of the new Constitution, there has been no conspiracy tending to overthrow it, except the horrible plot of Babœuf, to execute a massacre less coolly barbarous than the 18th of Fructidor, and the ultimate success of that plot was a riot, which the Government could easily have prevented, and which it found means to put down. The constitutional laws, the attributes of the executive power sufficed to avert these dangers, as well as those which the Royalist party might have excited.

"Before the 18th of Fructidor, there were in France four very distinct shades of opinion; two extreme parties, and two intermediate parties.

"The two extreme parties, the Jacobins and the Royalists, had been each overthrown in turn, and by the same cause. Having been reduced to the minority in the legislative body, they daily lost their strength and their credit. Both of them, on the point of perishing, took hold of the last twig. The Jacobins had no hope of resuming their power through the legislative body, because the free will of the nation irrevocably rejected them. They turned towards the Directory, which was their creature, with which they had preserved more affinity, and the re-election of which, being less frequent, promised them a longer duration of their influence. The Royalists on the contrary, not being able to exercise any influence over the executive power, in which the exclusive force of the Republican system resides, and in which what they called the usurpation of the royal power, appeared to them still reeking with blood, concentrated all their hopes in the legislative body, and flattered themselves that they should one day command there.

"The two intermediate parties, the Republicans of the Convention, and the constitutional Republicans, had the

majority in the two Councils and in the Directory. But with this difference, that the Republicans of the Convention had the preponderance in the Directory, and the Constitutional Republicans in the two councils. This difference, which became very sensible after the last re-election of the legislative body, was strongly marked, and public opinion daily declared itself more and more openly in favour of this new majority of the Councils.

"I have seen these two intermediate parties, which by the force of events, and by their common interest, had much approximated to each other, at the end of the preceding session, divide and become embittered by the intrigues of the extreme parties. The Jacobins, to whom internal peace was a half open sepulchre, terrified the most estimable of the Conventionalists, drove them from the sentiments which led them to justice, generosity and public esteem, the first fruits of which they began to enjoy, especially in the Council of Ancients, where they had shown more moderate opinions. The Royalists were certainly not inactive; they feigned, at home as well as abroad, to have a great share in events, but it was a romance of our counter-revolution, which had no basis but conjectures, and the only and deplorable reality of which was to render to the Jacobin party a service, entirely similar to that which they had received from it, when the despotism of Robespierre again bent the French to servitude, and almost caused the feudal yoke to be regretted.

"The intrigues of the Princes, the brothers of Louis XVI. are foreign to this great accusation of the nation, in the persons of its representatives; the declaration of Duverne Dupresle,* and the developement of his plan, to command the elections, and cause Royalists to be chosen in all the departments, are reveries to which no regard was paid, and which even the Directory itself, which had had the documents before it for more than six months, had despised. They were but secret insinuations, made by obscure ad-

* This Duverne Dupresle was a naval officer, who made part of the staff of the Count de Bonneval, on board the frigate in which I made the voyage to the Archipelago and the Levant, of which I have already spoken. He was very well acquainted with me; he had even become much attached to me, and yet I declare, that I never once saw him afterwards, and that he did not venture to come to me, or to make me any communication.

herents. All these projects were so loose, that notwithstanding the officious display, which the agents of the Princes made of them, and the success of which they boasted, in their first examinations, it was not possible to find any actual proof, even of their having made the attempt."

Having discussed, step by step, all the allegations of the Directory, and accumulated to refute them irrefragable and superabundant proofs, I decided in the negative all the questions which I had proposed, and added in conclusion:—

"Such is my conviction for all those accused with me; and with respect to what affects myself personally, I swear before the silent and inexorable Judge of all public men, I swear, on my honour, that my intention always was to maintain the Republican Constitution, being persuaded that with an equitable and moderate administration it might restore tranquillity to France, cause liberty to be loved and cherished, and repair, in time, the disasters occasioned by the Revolution. I swear that I never made, directly or indirectly, any proposal to uphold in any manner, immediate or remote, any interest, except that of the Republic, and according to its Constitution.

"After having fulfilled this sacred duty, when the proofs of every thing that I have advanced in this work are before my fellow-citizens, I feel that I may disdain to reply to the reproach of cunning and perfidy, which the most perfidious of men are eager to fix upon me."

I will not further extend this analysis of the fragments of a work written with much care, on which I perhaps set too much value, and abandon without regret to oblivion. Let us return to my retreat at Trumsbüttel.

The evenings were passed in interesting literary and political conversations, and in reading the master-pieces of our theatre, which my declamation rendered very agreeable to my hosts. I never for a single moment felt any vacuity or *ennui*, though the chagrin of being separated from my wife, my daughters, and my excellent relations, weighed upon my mind. I had the satisfaction to be able to correspond with my brother Saint Marcel, who continued to reside at Temeswar, to which city, as I have before said, he had retired with his wife, after having quitted the Austrian army.

I had learnt with real joy the glorious peace of Campo Formio concluded on the 17th October, 1797, some weeks

after I had quitted France. I regretted that it had not preceded the blow struck by the Terrorists, and I did not flatter myself that the Congress at Rastadt would lead to a general peace, and to an order of things which would put an end to our banishment. I soon learnt that the general-in-chief of the army of Italy, who had done us so much harm, had been speedily undeceived after his return to Paris, and was endeavouring to separate himself from the faction which had owed its horrible triumph solely to the splendour of his victories, and the intervention of his arms. Unhappily, his aid-de-camp Lavalette, whom he had sent to Paris to obtain information respecting the real state of things, and who was, in all respects, the officer best qualified to fulfil this mission, had not had any direct communication with us. Notwithstanding his probity and his good judgment, Lavalette had not been able to transmit to his general any thing but the impressions which he had received from the Directory and its councils. And when General Bonaparte, returning to Paris after the event, was able to obtain information for himself, and to judge of the effects of the pretended stroke of policy, he could not fail to be indignant at this profanation of his glory. I have positively ascertained that a proposal was made to him immediately to take advantage of his ascendency to overturn the Directory, to dissolve the two Councils, to change the form of government, and to declare himself Dictator. Never, perhaps, was public opinion more ready to second such an enterprise. I would not venture to affirm that this violent reaction, of which all judicious minds had a presentiment, would not have been at that time rash and premature. At all events, it is certain that the hero who executed it two years afterwards, had it in his thoughts from that moment, and seriously examined the obstacles, the means, and the chances of success.

My conviction in this respect was not founded on mere conjectures. General Desaix, who, during the armistice concluded in the army of the Rhine, had visited General Bonaparte at the head-quarters of the army of Italy, had been received by him with marks of esteem which his noble character and his military virtues so well deserved. He had become intimate with him, had acquired his confidence, and accompanied him to Paris. My family had long been known to that of Desaix, which inhabited the Chateau of Soisy-sous-Etioles. I was myself much attached to this

young officer; he was then lieutenant of infantry, in the regiment of Bretagne. I had met with him at Strasbourg, where he had acted as my aid-de-camp, during the mission which I executed in Alsace. As soon as he arrived at Paris, he called on my excellent mother-in-law, Madame Delarue, who loved him as one of her sons. He passed the greater part of his leisure moments at her house. He confided to my wife the plan which had been formed to deliver our country from so odious a tyranny. It was thought for a moment that the general-in-chief was determined to execute it. Desaix, who was watched by the agents of the Directory, left the house which he occupied in the Faubourg Saint Germain, to be able to act more at liberty. It appears that all was ready, when Bonaparte judged that circumstances were not mature, and that the means were not sufficient. He adjourned his designs. The only motives for his expedition to Egypt were his wish to withdraw from the domination and caprices of these contemptible Dictators, while they were desirous to get rid of one whose military glory and influence over the army gave them umbrage.

The violent proceedings of the Directory, the party of the Opposition which was again forming in the two Councils, the bad direction of the military operations since the proscription of Carnot, lastly, the exhausted state of the resources, announced an inevitable crisis. But the time when the combination of these several causes was to dissolve this anti-national government appeared to me very remote.

In spite of all my resignation, it cost me much to endure the absence of my wife and children; the tranquil and regular life which I led, made me still more sensible of the value of domestic happiness, of which the storms of revolution, incessant labours and proscriptions had deprived me during the last seven years. My kind hosts were anxious to add to all their favours that of inducing Madame Dumas to come with my eldest daughter Cornelia, then eleven years of age, to pass some months at Holstein.

In order to preserve to my children the wreck of our small fortune, and to ward off from my father and mother-in-law fresh persecutions, and above all the application of the law of hostages, I had induced my wife in 1793 to obtain a divorce; and when I returned to France, and was appointed member of the Council of Ancients, I took care

not to annul it by contracting marriage anew, as the general situation of affairs appeared to me too unstable to induce me to renounce this precaution. Madame Dumas experienced no difficulty in obtaining her passports. She arrived with our little girl at Tremsbüttel, where they were received as part of the family. My youngest daughter Octavia remained with her grandmother. Language cannot express the happiness which I derived from this reunion, my gratitude to my wife for this proof of her attachment, and towards my hosts for this sweet consolation. Those alone can understand its full value, who have experienced it in exile, with scarcely a hope remaining of ever again seeing their native country.

Countess Reventlow, who for more than ten years had been in a decline, under which she sank a few years afterwards, was a model of all the virtues, as she had been but a short time before a model of beauty and grace. She endured the cruel sufferings without any diminution of her natural sweetness of temper and equanimity. She had travelled in Italy and in the greater part of Europe with her husband, who had been ambassador in England, and afterwards at Berlin. It is impossible to conceive any thing more affecting than the tender attention which he paid to her. The Countess was much attached to my friend Portalis, whose conversation, equally solid and interesting, and his principles of philosophical and religious morality, were equally congenial with the elevation of her soul, the sensibility of her heart, and her enlightened understanding. Count and Countess Reventlow having no children, had adopted and brought up in their house a very interesting young lady, Ina, Countess of Holck. The son of my friend proved himself worthy of her affections, and the project of their union, which took place two years afterwards, was one of the greatest consolations the Countess Julia could enjoy.

The social meetings at the mansion of Emkendorff, especially in winter, were very numerous and interesting. Our guardian angel Jacobi often joined us, as did also his friend Vanderbourg, member of the Institute of France, author of the poems of Clotilda, and of a good translation of Horace. This veteran naval officer, who had emigrated with his comrade M. de Blois, in the first year of the revolution, had like myself been welcomed by Jacobi, introduced to their

worthy family, and been honoured with the same hospitality. Several distinguished professors of the University of Kiel, men of letters, among whom were Voss, the celebrated Klopstock, Niebuhr, and many others equally renowned for their merit, formed at this time a circle of men whose talents, truly liberal principles, mild philosophy, and wholesome policy, adorned and honoured Holstein. It would probably have been in vain to seek in Europe for such a concentration of knowledge, and such an excellent school of practical philosophy. We who represented the French school, offered but a trifling contribution; mine was without doubt the smallest; for Portalis possessed an inexhaustible store, and his persuasive eloquence was supported by the force and depth of his thoughts. He was then dictating to his son, the work which the latter has since published: *De l'Usage et de l'Abus de l'Esprit Philosophique.* He sometimes extemporised on subjects given him by the Countess Julia; and my replies served to animate his excellent discussion. Quatremère de Quincy, one of our accused colleagues, having also come to seek an asylum in this hospitable country, Jacobi extended towards him also his inexhaustible kindness; he introduced him at Eutin, where the Minister Count Frederick de Stolberg cordially welcomed and protected one of the French literati, the most distinguished by his taste for the arts, and his profound knowledge. His celebrated letters on the carrying away of the monuments and the chefs-d'œuvre of Italy had already gained him a reputation in Germany, and recommended him to all the friends of literature and the fine arts.

I passed the first few months of 1799 at Tremsbüttel with my wife and daughter; they were not able to prolong their stay out of France. In proportion to the joy I experienced at their arrival, this fresh separation filled me with grief: I accompanied them to Hamburgh, which they left about the end of April: my wife already suspected that she was in the family way, and I was allowed to hope that the wish of Louisa, Countess of Stolberg, would be accomplished, that I might have a son who should be a pledge of my remembrance of Tremsbüttel. Count Christian made my wife promise that the child, if a boy, should bear his name.

I felt myself so lonely after the departure of my wife and daughter, that I was sensible of the necessity of undertaking some serious work; of setting myself a task to be perform-

ed. I had observed that the French and German journals, in giving an account of the events of the war, had no arrangement, no military reasoning in their narrations. The periodical works published in the north of Germany (except the *Spectateur du Nord* and the *Minerva*, edited by Archenholz) were not more satisfactory. I conceived the idea of giving a summary of the official accounts, under the title of *Précis des Evénemens Militaires*, and of adding some general views on the respective situation of the belligerent powers. I had had the prospectus of the work published by Perthes; it was pretty successful, and I was chiefly encouraged to continue it by my friend Alexander de Lameth, who assisted me by his counsels and his knowledge of the subject, and was so good as to contribute some very interesting historical notes, which gave greater value to my first attempts. It is the same work which I have since continued, when, after the Restoration, it furnished me with an agreeable employment during the leisure of my retirement from public life. I had published at Hamburgh twenty-four numbers, which being re-written, and corrected from more authentic materials than I had been able to procure at Hamburgh, formed the first two volumes of the work. These historical essays comprise in nineteen volumes 8vo. a period of ten years, from the Congress at Rastadt in 1797, to the peace of Tilsit, 1807. I derived some pecuniary advantage from this work; and this resource was very valuable to me, on account of the ill success of the affairs of the house with which I had entered into partnership. It gives me pleasure to add that I had the satisfaction to reserve out of these moderate profits a sum of fifty louis, which I sent to my wife to defray the expenses of her lying-in. Such had been our losses, and the diminution of our little fortune, that this trifle was very welcome to her.

The composition of the numbers of this journal obliged me to go frequently to Hamburgh, where I obtained permission to reside, and hired an apartment. Time, which wears every thing away, and the embarrassing situation in which the faults of the Directory had placed it, rendered the persecutions of the 18th Fructidor less violent, at least beyond the frontiers of the French territory. Satisfied with having suffered those to perish in the deserts of Sinamari, whom it had been able to arrest on the very day of the revolution, the Directory had contented itself with

banishing to the Isle of Oléron those whom it had subsequently discovered and arrested: it gave itself no trouble about those, who, like myself, Portalis, Quatremère de Quincy, and some others, had found an asylum in foreign countries.

The wise Danish government received likewise other proscribed persons, the victims of the faction, no less intolerant, no less cruel, than that under which France groaned. The prisoners of Olmütz, whose deliverance was one of the fruits of the victories of General Bonaparte, and of the generous use of his influence, came to take refuge in this hospitable country. General Lafayette, Latour-Maubourg and Bureaux de Pusy, had settled at the country-seat of Lemkühl, where they were joined by their families. I hastened to go and congratulate them; I listened with deep interest to the narrative of the persecutions, which my friends had experienced during their severe captivity, and it was with the same feelings that they heard me relate the events which were only the consequence of their own misfortunes: we had all been struck by the same blow; we consoled ourselves with the consciousness of the purity of our intentions; we formed the same wishes, and were supported by the same hopes.

Thus the last year of my exile passed away, between my literary occupations and the pleasures of friendship. I had met at Hamburgh and brought back to Tremsbüttel the brave Colonel Ramel, who had escaped with Generals Pichegru and Willot, from their horrible prison at Sinamari. Several of those who had been banished with them, among others my friend Tronçon Ducoudray, had already perished; Ramel, who was received by my hosts like an unfortunate shipwrecked mariner, related his protracted sufferings and those of his companions. I listened to him eagerly: he had much natural good sense, but little knowledge, and little order in his ideas. He perhaps abused rather too much the traveller's privilege: he exaggerated the narrative of his adventures; but in the horrors of his captivity there were things so striking by their truth, and so calculated to interest all just and feeling minds, that I persuaded him to publish an account of them. I was certain that a lively picture of the sufferings of the exiles in Sinamari would awaken the national sympathy with misfortunes so little merited, and could not fail to be, in the sequel, very favourable to our cause. Ramel was not capable of com-

posing a narrative with this view, and in a style suitable to the circumstances: I undertook this task, and as I interrogated him, I took notes, and even designed, according to his recollections, a figurative, and almost ideal plan, of the locality, of the position of the huts, which the exiles inhabited in that pestilential spot. I afterwards drew up the narrative according to these documents, and had it printed in the name of Colonel Ramel. A short time afterwards he desired to go nearer the frontiers of France, and set out for Holland. Pichegru had remained in England; Willot passed through Hamburgh on his way to Italy. I soon learnt that Ramel had published a second edition of his narrative, in which he had inserted several particulars, which had not appeared in the first. I have preserved one copy of the latter, which was soon reprinted, and had a great circulation in France. As I had foreseen, this pamphlet was eagerly read, and revived public opinion in our favour, but it highly displeased those who, through timidity, had ranged themselves in the party of the Directory, and being desirous of seizing, in their turn, the power which the Directory was losing, were endeavouring, by affected moderation, to gain the support of well-disposed persons.

At this time, (towards the end of 1799,) the embarrassed state of the finances, the divergence and new division of parties, the discord among the Directors, the reverses of the armies in Italy and along the Rhine, counterbalanced only by the memorable victory of Zurich, by which Massena saved France, caused General Bonaparte to decide on abandoning his expedition in Egypt. Observing, though from a distant point of view, the causes of disorganisation, he at once foresaw their effects, and was sensible that the time for interfering was now come. He had scarcely set his foot on French ground, when he was considered as a deliverer; his bare presence filled the hearts of the terrorists themselves with consternation. He found all the other parties ready to decree to him the dictatorial power. Seconded by the commanders of the armies, and certain of the obedience of the soldiers, he ventured to strike the blow on the 18th of Brumaire, and with the title of First Consul, assumed the reins of the government of the Republic. He retained the outward forms of the national representation in the legislative power, but, prohibiting all public debate in the two Chambers, imposing on the tribune and on

the press absolute silence, he preserved only the chimerical denomination and the vain image of a republican government. He made himself dictator, and under the title of First Consul exercised the sovereign authority without control; he did not violate liberty since it did not in fact exist; he stifled the monster of anarchy, he saved France, and this was the noblest of his triumphs.

As soon as we learnt this new revolution, we conceived the hope of being speedily recalled. The part which had been taken in it by several of our friends, who had remained in the two Councils, and whose sentiments and prudence were well known to us; the natural policy of the dictator, which must lead him to obtain the support of the national opinion, and to found public peace on the fusion of parties, would not permit us to entertain any doubts. I was at Hamburgh when the first news of this event was received, and I hastened to communicate it to my friend Portalis. I have preserved a letter which he wrote me on this occasion, and in which, while he participated in my opinion of the consequences of the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, he blamed the rigorous measures which the dictator had adopted against the Jacobins.

As soon as we received official notice of the recall of the proscribed, we prepared to leave this happy country, hitherto exempt from the horrors of war, and where we had found a secure asylum. I went to Tremsbüttel to take leave of all the illustrious family of Stolberg and their friends, with a heart full of joy, and yet at the same time of regret, at parting from them, flattering myself with the hope of returning when circumstances should permit, again to offer them the first tribute of my gratitude and that of my family. Before I left them, I had the satisfaction to inform them that my wife had been delivered of a son on the 14th of December, 1799, and that I hoped one day to present to them the godson of Count Christian de Stolberg. My wife, not having been able to avow her pregnancy, and get her divorce annulled, my son was obliged to be entered in the register as the son of an unknown father. Whatever repugnance my wife felt to such an act, the law would have it so, and the legitimacy of my son could not be established, till on my return I recognised him as such by a new marriage.

In the month of January, 1800, Portalis, Quatremère, and myself quitted Holstein; happy to return to our native coun-

try, and full of just gratitude for the hero who restored us to our families and our homes. Those who have endured the hardships of exile are alone capable of appreciating this benefit; those above all ought to have appreciated it, who were thus recalled by him to the country against which they had borne arms; and yet when this hero, their benefactor as well as ours, fell from the summit of grandeur, and endured in his turn the torments of a horrible exile, gratitude, pity, respect for misfortune, had no access to hearts hardened by vanity and ingratitude.

I wish I could recollect and transcribe our conversations during this journey, as a tribute to the memory of Portalis; but I cannot pass over in silence the agreeable and unexpected meeting which we had in the neighbourhood of Osnaburg. We had stopped to supper and to change horses, when we were told that a traveller coming from France desired to see us, though he did not know who we were. It was the Duke de Choiseul, the same who, having been wrecked on the coast near Calais, had been arrested as an emigrant, in contempt of the laws of nations and of humanity, and whom the majority of the Council of Ancients, and especially the energetic and affecting eloquence of Portalis, had saved from the application of the barbarous laws against emigration. We had been so happy as to rescue him from the Jacobin cannibals, but he had been kept in prison. He had just been set at liberty by the new government, on condition of leaving the territory, and he was going to take refuge in the very country which we had just quitted. As soon as he perceived Portalis, he threw himself in his arms. The Duke de Choiseul gave us very satisfactory particulars of the late events; we answered to his wishes by our prayers for real internal peace, and the reunion of all the French in the bosom of their mother country. This hope has not been disappointed, and the Duke de Choiseul, when subsequently restored to his family and his friends, never deviated from the generous and patriotic sentiments which he so well expressed at this meeting.

CHAPTER IV.

Arrival at Paris—Placed under surveillance—Letter to the First Consul—Answer and audience of the First Consul—Second audience—Formation of the volunteer Hussars—Formation of the second Army of Reserve at Dijon—General Brune—Conversation with the First Consul after the battle of Marengo—Army of the Grisons—Reconnoisances and cantonments in Switzerland—General Macdonald—Visit to the Army of the Rhine—Instructions of the First Consul for the campaign—Difficulties in executing them—Journey to Paris—Audience of the First Consul—Notice of the cessation of the armistice—First operations—Passage of the Splügen—Establishment in the Valteline—Conference with General Brune at Castlefranco—Attack of Mount Tonnal—March of the army towards Trent—General Laudon deceives General Moncey by a false armistice, and saves his army—Suspension of hostilities—Mission to the head-quarters of General Moreau—Reconnoisance of the field of battle of Hohenlinden, and the entrenchments of Scharnitz—Peace of Lunéville—Appointment as counsellor of state—Various employments in the council of State—Conversation with the First Consul—Creation of the Legion of Honour—Discussion of the law on the Tribunate and the legislative body—Proposed mission to Florence.

I ARRIVED at Paris on the 14th of February, 1800, a day of happiness and joy; my two daughters hastened to meet me. I found my amiable and excellent mother-in-law at the door of the apartment of my wife, who put into my arms my new-born son Christian.

Entering into life at the beginning of the nineteenth century, may he pass safely through it, and not have to depict to his children, at the end of his career, a life so stormy, so chequered as mine. I found my Julia in bed, scarcely recovered. She had suffered severely for some months past. Her remarkable courage had been exposed from the beginning of the Revolution, to such severe trials, that her strong constitution was much debilitated. The considerable losses which my father-in-law had suffered by the reduction of the interest of the funds, by the repayment in depreciated assignats of sums due to him, while he honourably repaid in cash the loans made him by his relations and friends, had greatly diminished his domestic comforts. My precarious situation was an additional subject of uneasiness to my wife.

Though I had been recalled as one of the proscribed of the 18th Fructidor, I had been placed in a particular class.

They had done me the honour to consider me as a restless and dangerous royalist. I had not permission to live in Paris, and was to retire to Sens, there to remain under the surveillance of the general police. Immediately after my arrival I hastened to send word to my honourable friend, the Consul Lebrun; he came to me, spoke of the good disposition of General Bonaparte with respect to the proscribed, and said that he had not been able to get me recalled, like many others, without conditions, or to destroy the effects of the prejudices which the First Consul had been led to entertain. In this circumstance I could not but recognise the hand of a celebrated person whose implacable pride I had formerly offended. After having, in the presence of all my family, thanked the Consul Lebrun for all that he had done for my colleagues and myself, I wrote in his presence a letter, which he undertook to deliver himself to General Bonaparte. I expressed to him my entire gratitude for the inestimable favour of having permitted me to come and embrace my wife and children, but I requested him that, in case my conduct under all circumstances, and the pledges of my faith, which I had never violated, should not suffice to dispel unjust suspicions, he would suffer me to return to Holstein, where I would wait for the result of his justice and better times. I added that I should be wanting to my own character, if, when he saved my country from the tyranny of the demagogues, of which I, with the best citizens, had been the victim, I should voluntarily submit to a humiliating surveillance: my honour commanded me to prefer banishment.

The First Consul, after having read my letter, immediately sent his first aide-de-camp, Colonel Duroc, desiring him to tell me that I might remain at Paris in the bosom of my family, and that he would with pleasure receive me on the following day.

I was much affected by this generous message, and with the graceful manner in which Colonel Duroc was so good as to deliver it; he added the most flattering expressions of personal esteem, of which he never ceased to give me proofs, till the time of his glorious death on the field of battle at Bautzen.

On the following day I was admitted to the private audience which the First Consul had granted me. He asked me many questions respecting the political circumstances

in which I had been engaged, and the events in which I had taken part.

He then spoke of the difficulty of approximating the divers opinions; of his intention to listen to no prejudices, to yield to no importunity. "A revolution," said he, "is not to be effected, except with the elements which are to be found collected at the moment when it is undertaken. If I gave too much scope, too much influence to your constitutionalists of 1791, to those whom you call exclusively the party of honest men, I should very speedily produce an embarrassing reaction. I soon learnt, when I seated myself here, (in the armchair of Louis XVI.) that we ought to beware of resolving on every thing that we might do; opinion would go beyond me; the starved horse would soon recover his spirit in good pasture, and become untameable."

You have seen, my dear son, by what events, and under what circumstances, independent of my will, my military career had been interrupted ever since the year 1792. General Bonaparte looked upon me as having nothing to do with the army, and paying no regard to my ancient services, had remarked my military labours only in a legislative point of view, and as a writer. Judging that I should be more advantageously employed in an administrative capacity, he caused the Consul Lebrun, who was to organise the prefectures, to offer me one of the most important, that of the Gironde, of which Bordeaux was the capital. I answered that it was against my will that I had been kept away from the army; that it had required nothing less than a decree of the Legislative Assembly to retain me in my place on its benches, when Marshal Rochambeau had proposed to me to join him; that in the sequel, the Committee of Public Safety had caused my name to be erased from the list of generals, and that I had in vain solicited to be replaced upon it under the government of the Directory. I added that I feared I should but insufficiently answer the views of the First Consul, by taking upon myself functions to which my studies and my experience had till that time rendered me a stranger: *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* I requested him to solicit for me my reinstatement in my rank, and the earliest opportunity to prove my zeal and my devotedness, in such a manner as was best suited to my humble talents.

I had not to wait long for the decision of the First Consul. Being again summoned to the Tuileries, I was intro-

duced into the cabinet, where General Bonaparte was presiding at a council on the administration of the war department. He rose, and walked up and down with me while the ministers continued to deliberate. He told me that he had ordered the minister of war to replace me on the list, with the rank of brigadier-general, corresponding with that of major-general, which I had when I was elected deputy to the Legislative Assembly. I thought fit to observe, very modestly, that my rank was certainly that of lieutenant-general when I was erased from the list. "It is better for the cause, and for you," said the First Consul, "that you should resume your rank on the field of battle." He added that, desiring to profit by my activity and the influence which a good reputation ought to give me, he commissioned me to form a corps of cavalry, composed of volunteers, chosen in the best families, who should be clothed, mounted, and equipped at their own expense, and that I should as speedily as possible lay before him a plan for its organisation.

The decree of the First Consul was immediately published in the official journal. A great number of young men presented themselves to me to inscribe their names. Many of them, who served first in this corps, have risen to superior employments, and some of them to the highest rank in the army, such as Flahaut, Philippe de Ségur, Alfred de Lameth, Choisy, &c. I gave this fine body of young men a very brilliant uniform of the light troops, the ground of which was canary yellow. I formed them into two squadrons, each of one hundred men, the command of which, under my orders, was given to Colonel Labarbé, one of those officers of the light troops, who had distinguished himself by brilliant actions in the late campaigns. In the sequel they were converted into a little legionary corps by adding to them a battalion of infantry, the nucleus of which I formed, with some old officers and subalterns, and a selection from the conscription.

I was much engaged with this organisation, which was attended with some difficulty, till the opening of the famous campaign of Marengo. I solicited, in vain, the favour of being employed in the army of Italy. General Berthier, who had formerly been my comrade in the army in America, who possessed and so well deserved the confidence of the First Consul, told me that my destination for this cam-

paign was of a very different nature, and that I should join him in the sequel.

Towards the end of April, 1800, I received orders to repair to Dijon, to perform the duties of chief of the staff of the second army of reserve, and to exert myself for its speedy organisation. I succeeded to the functions of General Vignolles, who, in the character of aide-major-général,* accompanied General Berthier, who for the time, had the command in chief of the first army of reserve, which immediately took the name of Army of Italy. General Bonaparte, at length, disclosed his real designs, which the cabinet of Vienna persisted in considering as vain preparations. He was not long before he went to take in person the command of this army in order to execute the daring enterprise of the passage over Mount St. Bernard. The French Hannibal stopped for some hours at Dijon, where I presented to him the troops who had already arrived, and the battalion of conscripts, who had been newly organised. I had great pleasure in accompanying him in this review, with which he appeared satisfied, and I took the opportunity to repeat my solicitations to be allowed to accompany him and make part of his staff; but I was again unsuccessful. "You are of more use to me here," said he. The corps of volunteers which I had formed, both infantry and cavalry, assembled at Dijon, and made part of the army of reserve which I was organising. I subsequently received orders to send to Italy the cavalry commanded by Labarbé. I retained with me as orderly officers, the sons of my best friends, Philippe de Ségur and Alfred de Lameth.

General Brune, being appointed commander-in-chief of this army, repaired to the head-quarters at Dijon. His successes in Holland against the Duke of York, and his conduct in the army of the west during the pacification of La Vendée, had caused him to be favourably received by the First Consul, who, besides, took care not to offend him, as he was one of the most ardent chiefs of the Republican party, and gave him credit for the sincerity of his devotedness. I expected to find that this general entertained prejudices not very favourable to me, and it was not long before I perceived his distrust. He was a man of understanding, of a passionate, fickle, and irresolute temper, very

* See note, vol. i. page 20.

agreeable in society and full of kindness. I anticipated his suspicions, and spoke to him freely on the subject. "It appears to me," said I, "that we do not suit each other, or rather that I do not suit you." "Nothing can be more true," answered he, "I have applied for another officer as chief of my staff." "Very well," replied I; "endeavour to obtain one; and as I, on my part, had not solicited to serve under your command, but in the army of Italy, let us repeat our application to the First Consul, let us despatch a courier, and meantime depend on my doing my duty in such a manner, that neither you nor my successor shall have reason to complain of my negligence; let us make a truce till the return of the courier, and go on just as if we had chosen each other."

The truce was concluded; the general, satisfied with the step I had taken, loaded me with kindness; he often repeated, that people must live with those of their own party, and that he was a terrorist. I told him that he boasted, and that he desired to show his generosity to his vanquished friends. Contrary to my hopes, and notwithstanding the confidential letter which I had written to General Berthier and Colonel Duroc, the courier brought back only the confirmation of the first arrangements of the First Consul, and General Brune said to me, "Now I am very glad; we are better acquainted with each other, and I should be very sorry to have another chief of my staff." I had in fact every reason to be satisfied with my connexion with the general-in-chief.

Some days after we had received the news of the victory of Marengo, the First Consul, returning to Paris, stopped at Dijon, at the head-quarters of General Brune, and sent for me. He seemed satisfied with the account which I gave him of the organisation of the second army of reserve, amounting to about 20,000 effective men. I heard his conversation with General Brune (no other person being present) on the affairs of Italy. As it was the first time I heard him speak on military operations, I listened very eagerly. He gave an account of the battle which crowned this short and brilliant campaign, and concluded the interesting narrative with the following words:—"You see there were two battles on the same day; I lost the first; I gained the second; that was the main point."

While the court of Vienna caused new overtures of peace

to be made at Paris, which the imperious policy of Mr. Pitt rendered illusory, the First Consul prepared to profit by his advantages in Germany and Italy, to oblige the House of Austria, for the second time, to abandon the coalition. The army assembled at Dijon was destined to act in Switzerland, on the frontiers of Tyrol, as an intermediate link between the army of the Rhine and that of Italy, of which General Massena had at first taken the command, but could not retain it, because his health had been much impaired by his exertions in his fine defence of Genoa. General Brune received orders to take his place, and General Macdonald was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of reserve, which was called the army of the Grisons.

Before the arrival of the commander-in-chief, I received orders to go to Switzerland, to make the necessary preparation for the march of the army, and to reconnoitre the positions which it was to occupy. After stopping some days at Geneva, Berne, and Zurich, to make various arrangements, I proceeded to Lindau, on the Lake of Constance, to confer with General Molitor, who commanded one of the divisions of the army of the Rhine, (that of General Gudin, in the absence of that general). Our vanguard division was to relieve the troops of General Molitor in the valley of the Rhine, and to occupy the entrenched camp at Feldkirch, of which that general had made himself master just before the conclusion of the armistice. I passed two days at Lindau: I derived much gratification and advantage from the information kindly given me by General Molitor, who had distinguished himself in the war in Switzerland during the last campaign, and was thoroughly acquainted with that interesting and difficult theatre of war. I accompanied him to Feldkirch, where I was to wait for the arrival of the division of the army of the Grisons, commanded by General Rey, to relieve the troops of General Molitor. I reconnoitred with him, the famous entrenched camp of Feldkirch, which the Austrians had rendered nearly impregnable; but this position having become too eccentric, relatively to those which they occupied at the head of the upper valleys of the Inn and the Adige, they had been forced to evacuate it, and had retired through the Valley of Pludenz into the Voralberg.

At Feldkirch, I received and placed the division of General Rey, conformably to my instructions, and according to

the prudent counsels of General Molitor, and then returned to Geneva to meet General Macdonald, and to give him an account of what I had done; traversing all Switzerland to prepare the march of the army. The general-in-chief marched his two divisions, commanded by Generals Baraguay-d'Hilliers and Morlot, into the cantons of Berne and Zurich, and fixed his head-quarters at St. Gall.

In my very first communications with my general-in-chief, I foresaw how easy and agreeable I should find the duties that I had to perform about him; easy, because his foresight and activity left nothing to the chief of his staff, besides the care of well directing the execution of orders, always precise, always clearly expressed; and agreeable, because his frank and military manner was tempered and set off by a tone of the most pleasing urbanity, by lively and instructive conversation, which invited and inspired confidence. An unerring coup-d'œil, prompt resolution, much boldness and perseverance under the most trying circumstances, are the principal traits of character which General Macdonald manifested in this campaign.

The duration of the armistice was very uncertain; the brilliant successes of the last campaign in Italy and Germany were not, however, sufficiently decisive to force the cabinet of Vienna to conclude a separate peace, and quit the coalition. The First Consul required nothing less, and it might be foreseen that the conquerer at Marengo would, no more than the conqueror at Rivoli, leave his great work unfinished. General Macdonald profited by the leisure which the prolongation of the armistice afforded him, to visit General Moreau at his head-quarters at Augsburg. I accompanied him on this excursion, to which General Macdonald was induced by two motives; that of seeing an old friend, from whom some petty intrigues had rather alienated him, and that of conferring with him on the military operations in which, in case of the renewal of hostilities, the army of the Grisons would probably have to participate. I the more readily accepted the General's offer to take me with him, as it was a happy opportunity to see my brother Dumas de Saint Fulcrand, who was then one of the commissaries-general of the army of the Rhine, and to renew the acquaintance which I had always kept up with General Moreau.

We arrived at Augsburg, after having passed through the cantonments of the army in Swabia, between the Lake of

Constance and the river Lech. We were well received by our comrades of the fine army of the Rhine. The frank conduct of General Macdonald immediately effaced the slightest traces of the coolness which had existed between him and Moreau. A few days after our arrival, the head-quarters were removed to Munich, which the Elector had just quitted to retire to Franconia. During this removal of the head-quarters, General Moreau proposed to us to visit his advanced posts along the Danube. We went first to the castle of Neuburg, where General Ney commanding the division of the rear-guard, had his head-quarters. He conducted us over the field of battle above Neuburg, which was the last combat before the armistice, when the brave La Tour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of France, a model of military virtues, and a worthy descendant of Turenne, had gloriously perished. We visited the tomb which General Moreau had just erected on the spot where he fell.

From Neuburg we went to Ingolstadt, and thence to Ratisbon, the bridge of which town separated the advanced posts of the two armies. We were there visited by several officers of the regiment of Hulans, commanded by Colonel Count Walmoden, with whom we exchanged expressions of mutual esteem, and reciprocal wishes for the conclusion of peace.

On returning to Munich I had the satisfaction to meet my two brothers. General Moreau had had the kindness to ask and to obtain the re-admission of my brother Dumas de Saint Marcel, who had been his comrade in the first campaigns in the army of the north.

A few days after our return to St. Gall, General Macdonald received the instructions of the First Consul for the opening of the next campaign. It was about the end of October, 1800. These instructions were to the effect, that the army of the Grisons, after having caused the Austrian posts, in the upper valleys, to fall back to the sources of the Inn, and having pushed them as far as Nauders, in the valley of the Engadin, should ascend from Coire, the whole upper valley of the Rhine, pass the glacier of the Splügen, descend into the Valteline, and cross the chain of mountains which separates that valley from the Val Cammonica; it was then to ascend to Mount Tonnal, to attack that important post, at the source of the Adige, then cross, at the elevation of the lake of Iseo, the glaciers which separate the Val Cammonica

from the Val Trompia; lastly, to turn the lake de Garda, to enter at Trent, the great valley of the Adige, act in concert with the left wing of the army of Italy, to drive the Austrian corps through the valley of the Brenta, as far as Bassano, and in concert with the right wing of the army of Italy, oblige the Austrians to evacuate the Upper Tyrol.

This plan was bold, and the success infallible if the natural difficulties were not insurmountable. To prepare the execution of it while the passages were still open, General Macdonald had received orders to send into the Valteline one of his divisions, that of General Baraguay-d'Hilliers, consisting of about 3,500 infantry, a squadron of hussars, and a company of artillery. This division took the place of that of General Rochambeau, which formed the left of the army of Italy, and drew close to the centre, between Bergamo and Brescia. Baraguay-d'Hilliers occupied the whole valley up to the sources of the Adda. In proportion as the season advanced, and the snow accumulated in the passes of the Rhœtian Alps, the operations indicated in the instructions of the First Consul became more and more difficult. He had foreseen this, and had ordered General Macdonald to have the principal obstacle, the passage over the Splügen, reconnoitered. We found the glacier totally impassable, in the season of the deep snows. There was no sign of any communication having ever taken place, during winter, between one valley and the other; that is, between the upper valley of the Rhine, and the Valteline. In the fine season there was no passage, but a winding path, made in the irregular openings, between precipices; and when the snow had filled it up, and destroyed all traces of a path, was it possible to enter, and to pass through it, not only with the infantry, but also the cavalry and all the train of artillery?

General Macdonald thought it necessary to send me to Paris to give an account to the First Consul, and, at all events, to take his final orders respecting this undertaking. I received as a favour this mission, which furnished me with an opportunity to make a report verbally on so interesting a subject, and at the same time to pass a few moments with my family.

I was admitted to a private audience in the cabinet of the First Consul. After having listened to me attentively, he ordered the large map of Tyrol to be brought, which was spread out upon the carpet. He lay down upon it, as

well as myself, and made me repeat all the details of the recognisance of these elevated regions. He questioned me about the presumed force and the positions of the corps of General Hiller, and of the divisions of Auffenberg, Kaim, Laudon, Davidowich, and Wukassowich, at the head of the valleys of the Tyrol, towards Germany and towards Italy. In his various suppositions, he unravelled this great labyrinth of the Alps between the Rhine and the Adige. "We shall deprive them," said he, "and almost without fighting, of this immense fortress of the Tyrol; we must manœuvre on their flanks, and threaten their last point of retreat; they will then immediately evacuate all the upper valleys. I shall change nothing in my arrangements. I well see that there are difficulties, in all probability greater than at any other point of the chain of the Great Alps. But I hold that there are no asperities on the globe which man cannot surmount. Tell Macdonald that an army can pass always, and at all seasons, wherever two men can set their foot. A fortnight after the renewal of hostilities, the army of the Grisons must be at the sources of the Adda, of the Oglio, and of the Adige, and must have fired some musket-shot at Mount Tonnal, which separates them, and arriving at Trent, form the left of the army of Italy, and manœuvre in concert with it, in the rear of the army of the Count de Bellegarde. I shall take care to send in time reinforcements, where they may be necessary. It is not by the numerical force of an army, but by the object, the importance of the operation, that I measure that of the command."

After having thus explained, and briefly stated his decision, the First Consul retained me, and spoke to me of General Brune, and of the satisfactory account which he had given him of my manner of serving. And on this occasion, resuming the subject of his conversation at the first audience which he had granted me, after my return from Holstein, he congratulated himself on the success of his endeavours to bring together men of different parties by the exercise of different functions, and by the necessity of working in common. "But," added he, "there are irritable minds, implacable reminiscences, which do much injury. Tell me, for instance, who is that Colonel Ramel, who commanded your guard of the legislative body? He has written a Memoir on the 18th of Fructidor, and the exiles of Sinamari, which is a real torch of discord."

I answered the first question in the most just and honourable manner, on the good services and character of the brave Colonel Ramel, and as for his Memoir, "I can certify to you, general, that he did not write a line of it; you have the culprit before you! Indignant at the calumnies by which you had been deceived, and thinking that it might be useful to make known the barbarous treatment which the Directory had inflicted, I took advantage of the verbal narrative of Ramel, and published this Memoir under his name."

"It is but too well written; you did not do a good action; let us speak no more of it. Return to Switzerland without losing a moment. You will pass the Splugen; when one is resolved, one may always pass. Take with you 500,000 francs in gold, which I have destined for the army of the Grisons."

I hastened to give an account to General Macdonald of the result of the mission which he had intrusted to me, and of the determination of the First Consul. The general-in-chief did not conceal from himself that the secondary part which was reserved for him offered only immense difficulties—dangers without *éclat*, few chances of success, and a small share in the glory of the army.

Notice of the termination of the armistice was given at the Austrian outposts on the 8th of October. Hostilities were to commence on the 22d. The troops of the army of the Grisons left their cantonments to advance on the line of the Rhine, from Coire to Rheineck, at the head of the Lake of Constance, occupying all the valley from Coire to Rheineck, where the head-quarters were fixed on the 18th of November. General Macdonald had caused a bridge of boats to be made near Rheineck. He had the tête-de-pont on the right bank repaired and extended, in order to secure the communication with Feldkirch, and also his point of retreat. While his divisions ascended the left bank, and defiled on the bridge of Zollbruck, to advance to Coire, he proceeded to Feldkirch, caused the roads of the Voralberg to be repaired, and made numerous *reconnaissances.* These demonstrations, and those which he had made at the same time in the valley of the Lanquart and the Upper Engadin, persuaded the enemy that his design was to attack the Western Tyrol, to force the entrenchment of San-Martins-Bruck, and penetrate to the heart of the Tyrol by the great communication of Landeck.

Having drawn the attention of the Austrian general to his left, General Macdonald completed his movements, and concentrated his divisions between Coire and Mayenfeld. The division of General Rey, which occupied Feldkirch and the posts in the valley of the Ill, was succeeded by a small corps of 3000 men detached from the right wing of the army of the Rhine. The armistice had neutralised the whole portion of the country of the Grisons, which was between the line of the French upon the Rhine; and that of the Austrians on the Arlberg. The town of Coire was in advance of the line at the foot of the Alps which separate the torrents that flow into the Inn from those that fall into the Rhine; and as the Austrian advanced posts were near the summits, and as the inhabitants of the country, the principal families of which were settled at Coire, furnished them with intelligence, and prepared to second their attacks, this neutrality was of no avail to the French. General Macdonald could not conceal his march towards the source of the Rhine, except by occupying with a strong force the best posts at the head of the valleys. As soon as he had given notice of the cessation of the armistice, he ordered General Morlot to let a small column defile in the valley of the Lanquart, and to take possession of Gatthur and of Zum-Kloster, while General Vaux, leaving Coire with his brigade, should occupy Davos, Lenz, and Stalla, the only issues from the Engadin into the valley of the Grisons.

While General Macdonald prolonged his stay at Rheineck and in the lower valley, the better to deceive the enemy, and retain as long as possible so slight a mask, he was contending against the greatest difficulty, that which most frequently causes such enterprises to fail, namely, that of procuring provisions and means of conveyance. He did not go to Coire, till we were certain of being able to distribute to each soldier four or five rations of biscuits. It was with great trouble that so slender a supply was procured.

On arriving at Coire, General Macdonald distributed his troops, in the manner most suitable to mountain warfare, in which the multiplicity of the masses and commands, prejudicial in open countries, is on the contrary an advantage, and almost always a certain means of deceiving the enemy. The more spies and correspondents he had in the country, the more erroneous were their reports. They could count

the staffs of the divisions in the head-quarters, but they could hardly make even vague conjectures respecting the number and the strength of the several corps, disseminated in the narrow valleys, where the frequency of the movements deceived the most watchful eyes.

Macdonald formed as many divisions as he had generals of that rank: General Vandamme succeeded General Grouchy, who was called to the army of the Rhine, and took command of the vanguard; General Baraguay d'Hilliers, that of the first division, which had already passed into the Valteline; General Pully of the second; General Morlot of the third; General Rey of the reserve of the infantry, and General Laboissière that of the cavalry.

General Baraguay d'Hilliers received orders to retain his position in the Valteline, to push a strong detachment beyond Bormio to alarm the enemy, and carefully to guard all the issues of the Engadin.

The third division, that of General Morlot, was to form the rear guard; it was to remain cantoned at Coire, and in the neighbourhood till further orders, and to keep the posts and the passes on the summits, in order to cover the march of the remainder of the army by the Via Mala into the valley of the posterior Rhine (*hinter-Rhein.*) Before entering this formidable defile, General Macdonald, to secure his retreat, caused the double bridge of Reichenau over the two arms of the Rhine to be re-established, and those below Coire to be preserved.

Being directed to open the march, I proceeded to Tusis, at the foot of the glaciers, with General Verrières, whom General Sorbier, commander of the artillery, had detached, to prepare, under my direction, the roads for the passage, and the means of conveyance. We arrived at Tusis on the 24th Nov. preceded by three companies of sappers, whose labour could not render the road beyond that village passable for carriages. All those of the artillery were taken to pieces and placed upon sledges of the country, which were narrower and lighter than those which we had made. These sledges were drawn by oxen; the ammunition was loaded on the backs of mules, and as these means of conveyance, collected with so much difficulty, were still very insufficient, I gave orders to distribute to every soldier, already overburdened with the weight of his arms, his knapsack and his provisions for five days, ten packets of cartridges, besides the ordinary supply in the cartouch.

The division of cavalry under General Laboissière set out to follow the artillery. This division was composed of the 10th regiment of dragoons, the 1st of hussars, and the 12th of chasseurs. On the 26th of November it arrived at the village of Splugen, after having passed without accident the defile of the Via Mala, where I had preceded it with General Verrières and the first sledges of the artillery.

I suppress with regret in these memoirs the topographical description of the approaches to Mount Splugen by the narrow valley of the posterior Rhine, and of the opposite side towards Italy, (which description I have inserted in the *Précis des Evenemens Militaires,*) to enable the reader better to understand and to appreciate the difficulties of this daring enterprise. This description, though very succinct, would exceed the limits within which I endeavour to confine my numerous reminiscences.

On the 27th of November, the weather appearing calm, I caused the column of cavalry to march, and to attempt to ascend the glacier of the Splugen. I had assembled the most experienced guides who preceded the column, and set up poles to mark the way. The workmen who followed them swept away or trod down the snow. General Laboissière and myself encouraged them; they advanced with difficulty; the day was on the decline, and the column had scarcely got half way up the mountain, when the east wind suddenly arose. The guides and the workmen struggled on amidst clouds of snow and pulverised ice. An enormous avalanche loosing itself from the highest summit, rolling with a fearful noise and gliding with the rapidity of lightning, carried off thirty dragoons at the head of the column, who with their horses were swept away with the torrent, dashed against the rock, and buried under the snow. I had just quitted General Laboissière, and was engaged in making the column more close; I was not above one hundred and fifty paces from the spot, and thought for a moment that the General and the officers who accompanied him had likewise been swept away by the avalanche: but I perceived them with some dragoons and the guides, beyond the mass of snow, pursuing their way. I stopped the rest of the column, and made it fall back to the village. General Laboissière, finding himself in advance, separated from his troops, and almost alone had no hope of safety but by

reaching the summit of the mountain: he succeeded by the assistance of some vigorous countrymen who conducted him to the hospital. Some of the dragoons who had been swallowed by the avalanche were also extricated by the brave mountaineers.

This fruitless attempt only doubled the ardour of the French: the remainder of the company of dragoons which had suffered so severe a loss, desired again to form the head of the column, under the command of its colonel, Cavaignac. But the hurricane continued three days with the same violence; the avalanches had in several places blocked up the path; the guides declared that the passage was entirely closed, and that with the greatest exertions it would not be possible to open it in less than a fortnight, and then only for the infantry.

Meantime General Macdonald, whose staff had already arrived at the village of Splügen, hastened the march of his division; it was necessary to open the passage at all hazards to prevent the crowding together of the troops in the upper valley, and a total want of provisions, which must follow if they were compelled to remain there. The orders of the commander-in-chief were more and more urgent. Happily a strong frost, which succeeded the storm, enabled me to have the works resumed: I directed them in the following manner on the 1st of December.

Four of the strongest oxen of the country, led by the best guides, trod down the snow, in which they sunk and almost disappeared; they were followed by forty peasants, who cleared and formed the path. A company of sappers assisted them and perfected the trench; two companies of infantry, marching in very close files, completed the operation of smoothing and consolidating the snow. This vanguard was followed at some distance by a company of dragoons of the 10th regiment, of which we have just spoken. Then came a detachment of artillery, and a hundred beasts of burden; and the escorts closed the march.

The head of this first column, which cleared the way and advanced very slowly, was not stopped by any serious accident, and reached before night the summit of the Splügen. Notwithstanding the loss of some men and several horses, which missed the path towards the evening, and could not be assisted, the necessary order and silence were preserved. The column rallied at the hospital, from which place General

Laboissière, causing the same operation to be performed on the plain, and to the acclivities of the Cardinel, led it to Campo Dolcino.

On the following days, the 2d and 3d of December, I made two other columns pass successively, each consisting of a brigade of infantry, a division of artillery, and some detachments of cavalry, preceded by thirty labourers, natives of the country. The weather was fine, the path firm, and the two columns ascended the mountains more easily than the first had done. Without regarding the extreme fatigue and the excessive cold, which killed or mutilated some men, I hastened the march, that the troops might, without stopping, descend the Cardinel to Isola.

Being informed that General Macdonald, satisfied with this first success, was to arrive on the following day, the 4th of December, at the village of Splügen, to put himself at the head of the fourth column, I hastened to make room for him and proceeded to the hospital, which I reached at nightfall with the last part of the third column. I was exhausted with fatigue, and seized with a violent attack of fever. At daybreak I had myself wrapped up in blankets and fastened to a sledge drawn by one mule, led by a robust mountaineer. It would have been impossible for me to descend on foot the winding path, and I was very desirous of reaching Isola to put the troops in order and send them on to Chiavenna. I had every reason to be satisfied with having trusted myself to the address of my two guides: I descended rapidly and conveniently, gliding and turning between the precipices with the most perfect safety. The winding path was well cleared; but on account of the ice and the little bridges thrown over the clefts in the rocks, it was the most dangerous part of the road.

The fourth column, commanded by General Macdonald in person, was composed of the companies of grenadiers, of the third half brigade of Orient, of the 104th and the 17th brigades of light infantry, led by General Vandamme. Though there was no appearance of a storm at the bottom of the valley, the snow had fallen in such quantities since the preceding evening, that at the moment of leaving the village, the guides who had just been to reconnoitre the mountain, refused to venture. The trenches were again entirely filled up: in the most dangerous places no trace of

a path was to be found; the marks which had been set up in great numbers had been carried away.

The general-in-chief persisted in passing. The labourers of the country, the sappers of the army, and the grenadiers, after six hours' excessive labour, reached the summit; but finding between the glaciers a considerable accumulation of snow, over which the guides would not venture, all retreated, crying that the passage was closed up. General Macdonald, accompanied by Generals Sorbier and Pully, stopped them, brought back the grenadiers to the trace of the path, rallied the workmen and the guides, and himself sounding first of all, he made them pierce and clear away these walls of snow, in which many men were entombed. The storm was dreadful in the passage to the hospital, and on the plateau as far as the Cardinel; the column was several times divided; the 104th half-brigade was almost entirely dispersed, and could not be rallied till two days afterwards. General Rey with the reserve closely followed the steps of General Macdonald; but General Vandamme, who was at some distance in the rear, could scarcely find any traces of them. He would have been obliged to give up all thoughts of passing, if his workmen and soldiers, discouraged by dangers, in appearance less glorious than those which they were accustomed to brave in battle, had not been supported by the example of their comrades, who had been animated by that of the commander-in-chief.

This last day alone cost about one hundred men, who were lost in the snow, or frozen to death during the march. Above a hundred horses and mules likewise perished, and many sledges were abandoned. Articles belonging to the artillery and camp equipage were picked up after the tempest. At length, on the 6th December, all the troops and the greater part of the artillery had passed the Splügen, and the head-quarters were fixed at Chiavenna.

As soon as the Austrian generals were informed of the march of the army of the Grisons, they hastened to draw away the troops from the line on which they had uselessly prepared to repel our attacks, and descending the Adige, followed by their left flank, the movement which General Macdonald had executed by his right flank. The news of the victory gained by General Moreau at Hohenlinden on the 3d of December, and the movements of the corps of General Lecombe between Rosenheim and Kuffstein, in-

duced the Austrian generals to quit the Voralberg and the valleys of the Engadin, where the Inn, the Adda, and the Adige take their rise.

The first care of General Macdonald, after having cantoned his troops in the Valteline, was to concert with General Brune, commander-in-chief of the army in Italy, whose head-quarters were then at Brescia. He sent me to confer with that general, in order to induce him to combine the movements of his left wing with the march of the army of the Grisons on the Adige. The object of this combination was to cut off the retreat of the Austrian corps, under the command of Generals Laudon and Wuckassowich, and to turn the right wing of the army of Marshal Bellegarde by the valley of the Brenta. I went first to Milan, descending the Lake of Como, and remained several hours in that capital to settle with Mr. Petiet, the administrator-general, various arrangements relative to the wants of our army. I did not find General Brune's head-quarters at Brescia. He had just gone to Castelfranco, and all his columns were in motion towards the Mincio, of which he intended to force the passage. I was very well received by General Brune, as well as by General Oudinot, the chief of his staff, and General Marmont, who commanded his artillery. I explained, as well as I was able, the object of my mission, but I did not succeed in obtaining the concert of operations, the advantages of which I demonstrated. It would have been necessary to suspend the movement, to detain by this means Marshal Bellegarde between the Mincio and the Adige, and give us time to pass the chains of mountains which form the Val Cammonica and the Val Trompia. General Brune preferred attempting immediately the passage of the Mincio, the brilliant success of which was owing to the action of General Dupont at Bupolingo, to the good arrangements of General Marmont, and the fine exploit of General Oudinot after the passage.

I did not lose a moment to return to General Macdonald, with the result of my mission, and all the information which he wished respecting the situations and the operations of the army of Italy. I ascended Lake Iseo and the whole Val Cammonica, at the extremity of which I found the division of General Vandamme, about three leagues from the summit of Mount Tonnal. This general was very much thwarted by the difficulties which he met with amidst this eternal

ice, in the execution of the order to attack the Austrian entrenchments, conformably to the instructions of the First Consul, an order which General Macdonald had instructed me to repeat to him.

The first and principal object of the operations of the army of the Grisons was, in fact, as I have already mentioned, the attack on Mount Tonnal; if that passage was opened to us, we should enter the Val di Sole, and following the course of the Nos, we should arrive in four days' march at the position of St. Michael, above Trent. We should then cut off the communication between the Upper and the Lower Adige, prevent the union of the corps of Laudon and Wuckassowich, force them to evacuate the lower valleys, and in short we should free the left of the army of Italy. In the much more probable case, that the passage of the Tonnal, already closed by the deep snow, should be found so barred by entrenchments, and so well guarded that it could not be forced, General Macdonald had resolved to confine himself to demonstrations at this point, to fix the attention and the apprehensions of the enemy, and while the vanguard of Vandamme was employed there, to descend with the rest of the army the Val Cammonica as far as Pirogno, at the entrance of the Oglio in the valley of the Isco, and then to pass the two chains which formed the Val Trompia, to enter into that of La Sarca, and to debouch upon Trent.

This was the plan that was executed: the army of the Grisons followed the course which had already been taken by the division of the vanguard, left the Valteline by the pass of Apriga, and then descended the whole Val Cammonica; while General Vandamme caused Mount Tonnal to be attacked by General Vaux. Though it had been perceived that it was impossible to force this passage between two of the highest glaciers of the Alps, that general received orders to penetrate to the entrenchments. After having driven back some advanced posts above the Ponte di Legno, General Vaux, at the head of the grenadiers and chasseurs of the 104th demi-brigade of the 1st and 17th of light infantry, commanded by Colonels Séron and Lévêque, ventured, in the night of the 22d of December, to attempt this dangerous assault: the French grenadiers climbed up the glacier, and soon afterwards, quite exposed upon the snow, which they trod under foot, and under a heavy fire

of artillery and musketry, they continued to advance without firing a single shot. Never was more intrepidity, never was so much firmness shown. The first entrenchment was carried at the point of the bayonet: the carabineers of the first regiment of light infantry, which took the lead, reached the palisades of the second entrenchment, and attempted in vain to pull them up, the ground being frozen to a great depth. A shower of balls swept away those brave men to no purpose, at the foot of these walls of ice. Séron, who led them on, was wounded; General Vaux, after having reconnoitred the strength of the enemy and that of those impenetrable entrenchments, ordered a retreat. These entrenchments, formed of earth and of snow beaten and frozen, were defended by four or five thousand men, of the corps of Wuckassowich.

In order to keep them there for some time longer, and to persuade the enemy that we were resolved at all hazards to open this passage, General Macdonald ordered a second attack. This time General Vandamme caused it to be executed in broad daylight: it was the 31st of December, the same day on which the French head-quarters were already at Breno, in the centre of the valley. The Austrians had reinforced their advanced posts, and extended their works, on the summit of the mountain. They were attacked so impetuously in the two redoubts, the fire of which crossed upon the path, that a battalion of the regiment of Kray, which defended them, after having lost more than 200 men, had scarcely time to throw itself into the second entrenchment, and was pursued to the palisades.

The Austrians did not abandon this position till they were obliged by the retrograde movement necessary after the progress of General Moreau in Upper Austria, and that of the two divisions which General Macdonald sent into the Lower Engadin, and by way of Nauders and Glarens into the valley of the Adige, under the command of General Baraguay-d'Hilliers.

While these several attacks, which were so well combined, forced the enemy precipitately to evacuate the whole of the Upper Tyrol, General Macdonald redoubled his efforts to overcome the obstacles which appeared to multiply before us, in order to arrive in the valley of the Adige, and to intercept the retreat of the corps of Laudon, which

had entangled itself there. I seconded with zeal and success the efforts of the general-in-chief, who had already reached Lake Iseo. He directed me to open the march, in order, with the vanguard under General Rey, to pass the glacier which separates the Val Cammonica from Val Trompia. This passage was extremely difficult: in some places we were obliged to hew out a flight of steps in the masses of ice, to enable the cavalry to defile. The ardour and perseverance of the soldiers surmounted these difficulties. The remainder of the army followed. After having descended into the Val Trompia, I met at the Rocca d'Anfo an Italian corps of about 2000 men, commanded by General Lecchi, who had received orders to join the army of the Grisons. This corps of Lecchi being at the head of our vanguard, General Macdonald sent me orders to direct it to Trent, but to keep it on the left bank of the Adige, till the troops of the army should have begun to debouch, and till the general-in-chief should be there in person. To assure myself of the execution of this important order, I hastened to join General Lecchi, who, having left the Rocca d'Anfo at the moment of my arrival there, had gained one march over the troops of the army of the Grisons. I rode forty miles without stopping, but could not overtake him; when I reached the bridge of Trent, it was too late. General Lecchi had rashly attacked the bridge, defended by the rear-guard of the corps of General Davidowich. The Italian legion had lost many men in this attack, and Lecchi being forced to desist, had passed the Adige above the town, on a bridge of rafts. I passed myself at the same place, and carried to General Lecchi the order of the commander-in-chief to make reconnoissances in the direction of Roveredo.

General Macdonald was about to reap the fruit of his efforts, when fortune, and a want of honesty on the part of the enemy, which cannot be considered as a *ruse de guerre*, deprived him of the success which he so well deserved.

I took so active a part in the execution of the plans of General Macdonald for this campaign, and shared so sincerely in his regret at not having been able to terminate it by a brilliant victory, that I cannot refrain from stating here the result of our combinations, a result which was indeed completely obtained, and the singular coincidence

which saved a considerable part of the Austrian army (about 20,000), and paralysed the action and the movements of the army of the Grisons.

The Austrian corps, commanded by Generals Wuckassowich, Davidowich, and Laudon, being forced to evacuate the western part of Upper Tyrol, either by the progress of the army of the Rhine, or by the attacks of the divisions of Baraguay and Morlot, of which I have spoken above, had thrown themselves into the country of Trent, and threatened the left wing of the army of Italy, of which General Brune was the commander-in-chief. He had opposed to them the two divisions under the command of General Moncey, who, ascending the valley of the Adige, had driven them from one position to another, to that of La Pietra, from which there was no further retreat. It was at the very moment that General Moncey was going to attack them in front that General Macdonald arrived at Trent, and was preparing to cut them off from the valley of the Brenta by advancing to Levico. How great was his surprise and disappointment when he learnt that General Moncey, deceived by a false official declaration of a pretended armistice, had just permitted the Austrian generals to evacuate the position of La Pietra, and to retire through the Brenta to join the right wing of General Bellegarde. The brave and honourable General Moncey did not know and could not presume on the rapidity of the last march of the army of the Grisons, and the critical situation in which General Laudon then was. If he had been detained a few hours longer at La Pietra, all means of retreat would have been cut off, and this entire corps, which escaped through an almost impassable route, under cover of a false armistice, would have been compelled to lay down its arms.

'Macdonald fixed his head-quarters at Trent, and left General Moncey, reinforced with the division of cavalry under the command of General Davoust, to pursue the Austrian corps under the command of General Laudon into the valley of the Brenta. But they had already gained one march, and their rear could scarcely be overtaken at Bassano. A few days afterwards we learnt the armistice concluded with the army of Italy, and in which the army of the Grisons was included. This was the armistice with which the First Consul was so dissatisfied, because General Brune had not obtained the surrender of Mantua, a condi-

tion on which he insisted, and which was not agreed to by Austria till the new armistice concluded at Luneville.

Our task was accomplished, for we were reduced on our left towards the Tyrol to useless observation, and on our right the movements of the army of General Brune had gone beyond us. The armistice of the army of the Rhine having stipulated the entire evacuation of the Tyrol by the Austrian troops, and the occupation of those provinces merely by French safeguards, I received orders to proceed to Bautzen in order to confer respecting the execution of this clause with the Marquis de Chasteler, who had hitherto had the chief command in all Tyrol. I had every reason to be pleased with the reception which he gave me, and derived much advantage from the interesting conversation of that general officer, who was one of the most distinguished in the Austrian army.

On my returning to Trent, I received from General Macdonald a fresh proof of his confidence; he directed me to repair to the head-quarters of General Moreau, which had been at Salzburg since the armistice of Steyer, in order to concert with him the part which the army of the Grisons should take in the operations of the army of the Rhine, passing through the valley of the Drave in case of the speedy rupture of the armistice. I was accompanied by Colonel Lenormand, one of General Moreau's aide-de-camps, whom he had sent to General Macdonald to acquaint him with the general position of his troops in Upper Austria and his further projects. We crossed the Tyrol by the route of the Brenner. It was towards the end of January. I admired the works erected on this fine road, which is one of the arteries of the Austrian monarchy, and the care with which it is kept constantly open by bodies of peasants, in spite of the snow and the ice with which the lofty summits are encumbered. I passed through Inspruck, where I met with General Nansouty of the cavalry, to whom General Moreau had confided the command of all the French safeguards stationed throughout Tyrol, according to the stipulations of the armistice. Before I left the capital, I visited the magnificent and remarkable tomb of the Emperor Maximilian, adorned with a series of bas-reliefs, admirably sculptured, which represent the most remarkable actions in the life of that prince, and the most memorable events of his reign. Round the tomb, which is

in the middle of the choir of the cathedral, are the bronze statues of all the sovereigns of Europe his cotemporaries, who appear, by their attitude, to have come to pay homage to the memory of that prince.

I proceeded along the road from Inspruck to Salzburg, leaving on the left the fortress of Kuffstein, which was occupied by our troops. On arriving at Salzburg I put up at the house of my brother Saint Fulcrand, who, as I have before stated, was one of the principal commissaries of that army. I then repaired to the head-quarters, where I was received in the most obliging manner by the conqueror of Hohenlinden. The mission with which I was entrusted kept me some days with him, and gave me opportunity to converse with him frequently. The various events of the war, the general state of affairs were the subjects of our conversation. His discontent, his jealousy of the ascendancy which the First Consul had acquired, his opposition, which was then entirely republican, manifested themselves in all he said. Moreau was far from knowing and appreciating the genius of Napoleon, his immense capacity, his versatility, the inexhaustible resources of his mind, and his profound knowledge of the art of war. He, however, did justice to the great talents displayed by him whom he considered as his rival. He said to me one day, "In the conception of plans, in the conduct of great operations, and in the politics of war he beats us all; but for methodical warfare, on a determined theatre, for the game of chess, that is a different matter: in that I think I am superior to him."

I took advantage of my visit to the head-quarters of the army of the Rhine; where the generals and superior officers were assembled who had taken the most active share in the operations of the last campaign, and particularly in the decisive victory of Hohenlinden. General Moreau took pains to explain to me the plan which he had conceived, and the admirable precision with which his arrangements had been executed: he advised me to return to Tyrol by way of Munich, in order to reconnoitre the field of battle. I carefully collected the notes and details given me by the principal officers of his staff, such as General Dessolles, Colonels Lamarque, Lahorie, Guilleminot, and several others, celebrated then and since for their brilliant exploits.

General Lecombe had his head-quarters at Salzburgh, and I had much pleasure in hearing him relate his campaign in Switzerland. His great perspicuity, his boldness, and perseverance, peculiarly qualified him for mountain warfare.

I left Salzburgh, taking the road to Munich, accompanied by my aide-de-camp, Captain Louis Romeuf, who, as well as his brother Alexander, had been aide-de-camp to General Lafayette. This excellent officer, who was an equally excellent friend, hardly ever quitted me; and as will be seen in the sequel, I had the affliction of closing his eyes on the field of battle of Moskwa. Before reaching Munich we passed through the forest of Hohenlinden; the road was still covered with marks of that battle. I hastened, as General Moreau had advised me, to wait on General Richepanse, who had had the greatest share in the success of that memorable day, as well as General Walter, who had been seriously wounded. Richepanse was ill; he would have willingly accompanied me in person to reconnoitre the field of battle; he, however, desired his aide-de-camps, Captains Maucomble and Lapointe, to conduct me to it. I followed with them the march of General Richepanse, from the point whence he set out, at the extremity of the right wing of the French line, to Mattempöt, where he debouched by the great high road through the forest, in the rear of the Austrian and Bavarian armies, while General Moreau attacked in front the head of the columns, which debouched into the open ground before Hohenlinden, and while General Decaen attacked their left flank with only one brigade. It is from this examination of the field of battle, from my communications with General Moreau and the officers, who under his command had executed the movements which he had marked out beforehand, from the official documents communicated to me by General Dessolles, chief of the staff of that army, that I have described this battle in my Historical Essays, or *Précis des Evénemens Militaires*. If I did not frequently refer the readers of these Memoirs to that work, I should have to transcribe whole passages, when I wished to give an account of events of which I was an eyewitness.

Returning to Trent, I took the road from Munich to Insprück, and had occasion to see the famous entrenchments of Scharnitz on the frontiers of Tyrol. The Marquis de

Chasteller, under whose direction they had been constructed, had spoken to me of them as an impenetrable barrier, and the keystone of the system of defence. It appeared to me that, nowithstanding the manifest advantages of the position, and the roughness of the mountains at this narrow passage, the entrenchments might be turned on their left, and in fact this bold attack was attempted with full success some years afterwards by Marshal Ney. Lecombe was in the right when he said to me, "The Austrians to defend their great citadel of Tyrol, have every where erected fortifications; they have barred the upper valleys, and shut up all the passes; there are *chiusa* at every step; we will show them that our voltiguers can climb and descend wherever goats can pass, and these countries all covered with mountains will be for us only a plain, an open country."

A short time after my return to Trent, we received the news of the peace of Lunéville, and orders for breaking up the army of the Grisons. General Macdonald, who had loaded me with honourable proofs of his satisfaction and friendship, allowed me to go before him to Paris. I again took the road through the Tyrol by way of Insprück, and stopped a few days at Munich with my two brothers. I took back with me my aide-de-camp, Louis Romeuf, and young Alfred de Lameth, who was afterwards aide-de-camp to Marshal Soult, and who perished so unfortunately in Portugal, where he was assassinated by banditti. He was a very promising officer, and I looked upon him as one of my children.

Having returned to my family in the month of May, 1801, I was well received by the First Consul, who, at the obliging solicitation of General Macdonald, appointed me counsellor of state in ordinary in the section of war. General Lacuée was then president of that section, and my colleagues were Generals Brune, Gouvion Saint Cyr, Dessolles, and Andréossy. I took a very active part in the numerous labours of the section of war. My reports were remarked by the First Consul, who directed me particularly to treat of several important questions relative to the organisation and the administration of the army. I presided in a commission for the settling of the accounts of the invalids, and a second for that of the military hospitals. I was likewise very busy for some time with researches and special

reports, which served for the decree of the Consuls on the accounts of the pay, and the new establishment of the reviews.

Daru, the chief inspector of reviews, was joined with me in this great work, and I was indebted to his knowledge and experience for the best part of the success. I was on this occasion frequently summoned to the First Consul, who never failed to discuss personally with the counsellors of state, to whom he had entrusted the examination of a question relative to the administration, and entered into the smallest details with admirable precision, and without ever losing sight of the principal object, the *ensemble* and the means of execution.

As an authentic example, I here transcribe one of the instructive letters, which he addressed to me to direct me in my work.

"Paris, 18th Fructidor, year IX of the French Republic.

"To the Counsellor of State, Dumas.

"I have read, citizen, the observations of the committee which you have sent me; there is nothing reasonable in them. The project of a regulation which you propose, very nearly approaches the object. I find it rather too laconic.

"The first chapter does not appear to be sufficiently clear, or sufficiently developed. As it is to serve as rules for the paymasters and the different contractors, I think that this regulation ought to contain as many chapters as there are different subjects.

"You will find annexed some observations on this plan. I think it would be useful for you to see citizen Gau and the administrator of the Treasury, in order to proceed in unison with these two men, who appear to me to be well versed in their departments. It is with them that you must agitate this question, whether it is better that the balancing of the accounts should be completed in the divisions, or at Paris, between the administrators of the Treasury and the central committee. The advantage of the last would be that these settlements would be made by corps.

"Impress upon citizen Gau and the administrator of the Treasury, that my object is to have as exactly as possible, at the beginning of Frimaire, what each paymaster may have paid for the balance of Vendémiaire, and so on; to have at the beginning of Frimaire the means of liqui-

dating the accounts of Vendémiaire for provisions, forage, and fuel:

"To have every six months the exact reckoning for the clothing, remounting, and arming of all the troops of the republic.

"And that in the council which will be held in Frimaire, to convert into definitive ordinances the ordinances on account of Vendémiaire, it will be necessary to have all the counterproofs, which may serve to liquidate finally, and without fear that the republic will be prejudiced, the expenses of that month.

"It will be good that you impress upon the contractors, the paymasters, the inspectors themselves in the regulations, the importance of their operations, since they will be the real basis of the liquidations.

"If we succeed in making a good regulation, and in establishing on a solid basis the mode of keeping the accounts of the war department, the public, the treasury, and the soldiers will gain much.

"For the First Consul,
"(Signed) Bourienne."

One day at Malmaison, in one of those conversations, the recollection of which is indelible in the memory of all those who were honoured with them, suddenly interrupting himself, he said, "I have read the first numbers of the *Précis des Evénemens Militaires*, which you published while you were at Hamburgh; you ought to continue that work, and I could place at your disposal the materials of which you will have need." I answered, "that since the First Consul had thought fit to place me again among the actors, I did not think that I ought to resume my pen; that people would cease to believe in my impartiality, and that desiring to serve with all the activity in my power, I preferred reserving literary occupations for a time of leisure and retirement." My sincerity did not seem to displease the great man; but a more dexterous courtier than myself would not have missed this opportunity to become his historian.

About this time (that of the peace of Amiens), General Bonaparte having conceived the great idea of the creation of the legion of honour, appointed a commission of five members, of which the Consul Cambacérès was president. I was called upon to make part of this commission, the

object of which was to develope the basis which the First Consul had laid down, and to present to him a project of law, which should contain the principal regulations necessary for giving a solid foundation to this institution. I was especially charged to act as secretary, and to collect during the discussion, the elements of the several reports, which were successively laid before the First Consul. I had a considerable share in this work, and when the last draught of the project of law had been definitively approved, I was appointed one of the commissioners of government to defend it, first in the conferences with the committee of Tribunate, and afterwards before the legislative body.

We met with warm opposition in the Tribunate, where republican opinions had zealous partisans and able defenders. The most remarkable and the most eloquent among them was Savoye-Rollin, brother-in-law of Casimir Périer; he attacked the law in all the vulnerable points with great force of reasoning, and endeavoured to demonstrate that it overturned the vital principle of political equality, and violated the constitution. The majority of the Tribunate adopted the law, and Lucien Bonaparte, one of the tribunes, was appointed to support it in the legislative body.

Notwithstanding the last efforts of the democratic party, which was bolder and more animated than the First Consul had supposed, the creation of the Legion of Honour was entirely favoured by public opinion. This remuneration, offered equally for civil and military services, far from offending men of judgment, was received as the most sincere testimony of the respect of the government for the principle of political equality, and as the best means to strengthen it by effacing even the remembrance of the ancient aristocratic and democratic distinctions. It is in this point of view that the genius of Bonaparte had considered this institution. It undoubtedly founded a new patrician order; its formation into cohorts was, it must be confessed, entirely monarchical and almost feudal. If he ventured to undertake it, it was because he had justly and profoundly observed that neither the most salutary innovations nor the convulsions of anarchy had been able to change the manners of the French people, that they had remained essentially monarchical, and would remain so till all the bonds of society were dissolved. It has been said with truth that the creation of the Legion of Honour was the transition and

the greatest step from the dictatorship to the absolute monarchy.of the empire.

True patriots have deplored that this incommensurable genius never felt the necessity of fixing limits to the excess of his own power, by giving life to the representative government, of which he preserved only the forms, and as it were the dead letter. History will say whether the state of Europe, the interests and the passions of the men of his age ever left him leisure or the possibility to do it. On this important point the opinions of his contemporaries have been very different: several of those whom their situation enabled closely to observe the course of his policy, and to penetrate his designs, seem to be convinced that this absolute master was himself commanded by circumstances; that continually provoked by irreconcilable enemies, he could not consolidate his government and fix the destiny of France, except by fighting; that he was obliged continually to conquer, in order to preserve the first conquests of the Republic, and that if he did not cut off the very last head of the hydra of coalition, he could obtain only transitory truces, and dictate only illusory treaties of peace. Others, accusing him of boundless ambition, say, that having risen by military glory, with which he was intoxicated, and with which the nation was no less fascinated than himself, he continually meditated new wars; that trusting only to his genius and his fortune he feared that a state of peace would relax the strength of his government, and cool the enthusiasm, the excitement, which were kept at the highest pitch, by his victories, the varieties of a camp life, and extraordinary events; in short, that there was no end to his career, nor safety in peace for himself and the French people, till his dominion should be every where established and undisputed.

I do not entirely assent to either of the two opinions. I allow that, notwithstanding the successive transformations of the government in France, and the security which was given to the continental powers, by the repression of anarchy, the first cause of the war continued with the same intensity, and that the policy of England kept the flame alive by its subsidies. The celebrated son of Lord Chatham dreaded no less the establishment of a regular government in France, and the final incorporation of her important conquests, than the convulsive efforts of the revolutionary government which had shaken all Europe. Pitt told the Eng-

lish Parliament that they ought to wage war against Bonaparte as Dictator, Consul, Emperor, a war for life, and wear him out; and yet it is not true that the war was always provoked by the allies, not even on the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens. Napoleon judged on many occasions, and perhaps he was right, upon his political system, that it was more advantageous for him to be the aggressor, in order to retain all his advantages. It is, therefore, not correct nor just to ascribe entirely to a blind and foolish ambition the gigantic expeditions which he undertook rashly, and which, perhaps, have also been too severely blamed. A genius so vast, so profound, so contemplative,—a legislator so decided, and one who administered the affairs of his government with so much foresight, cannot have suffered himself to be led away and deceived by a delusion of the imagination. I think that he failed in the very basis of his calculations. I could venture to say that the spirit of the age, and particularly that of the French nation, was never duly appreciated by him. This was his error from his first accession to supreme power; and, as was well observed by Lord Grey in one of his speeches in the House of Lords, Napoleon has nobly confessed it in his commentaries at St. Helena. I cannot believe that he had not become sensible of this before the frightful consequences which it produced, but it was already too late. If he had conquered at Waterloo, it may be doubted whether it would have been possible for him to change his system. I have always thought that this powerful genius might have founded his government and dynasty on a more solid and a more durable basis, by tempering the exercise of the sovereign power by liberal institutions *principatum et libertatem.* When, after the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, the nation, disgusted by the excesses of anarchy, threw itself into his arms, he might believe that the love of liberty was for ever extinct, and consider it as a vain and dangerous chimera; he was deceived by false appearances: the sacred fire still burned in every truly French heart.

When the law which had passed in the Tribunate, was presented to the legislative body, I was appointed commissioner of the government, with my colleague, the Counsellor of State Rœderer, and the tribune Lucien Bonaparte, as I have above mentioned. Lucien had to perform the difficult task of developing all the grounds for the enactments of the law, and of replying to the objections which had been raised

in the Tribunate, and so well expressed by Savoye-Rollin. He performed this duty with much precision and eloquence, perhaps with a little too much warmth. A great number of deputies appeared inclined to vote against the law. It was the first time since my proscription on the 18th of Fructidor, that I appeared in the Assembly of the representatives of the nation. It was with a feeling of regret that I looked at this great number of deputies, condemned to silence, like passive judges, before whom so important a question was agitated, without their being able to illustrate it by the slightest observation, to question the organs of the government, or to reply to our assertions.

The sitting was fixed for the evening of the 19th of May, 1802. The hall was lighted up, and the recollection of the stormy night sittings of the Assembly, at which I had formerly been present, rendered the contrast of this gloomy and profound silence the more striking to my mind. I was the last who spoke. Lucien had exhausted the subject. I could only have repeated his arguments and wearied the mute Assembly. I endeavoured strictly to define the object of the institution, being aware that the denomination Legion displeased the republicans in particular, because it implied the idea of an entirely military confederation. I explained by etymology what should be understood by this choice of citizens, who in their different careers had deserved well of the country. I endeavoured to display the advantage of this mutual reflection of glory acquired in arms and in the toga. I concluded my speech with the following peroration, which I insert in these Memoirs merely because some did me the honour to say, that it had induced a few who wavered, to vote in favour of the law.

"It has too often happened that from a blind and fatal admiration, great political errors of the Romans have been highly extolled among us, and the greatest crimes held up as examples; whereas in this eventful and fertile history we ought to seek only for the most useful lessons. I will, therefore, conclude with one of the approximations, applicable to our manners and to the present occasion, these apologetic observations on the title and the spirit of the law, upon the adoption of which you are going to decide.

"An illustrious Roman, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, he who was called *the sword of Rome;* he who, when besieging Syracuse, honoured science by his generous solicitude to

save the life of Archimedes, and who deplored his death; he, in short, whom the suffrages of the people had continued in the highest office by five consulships; desired to raise a temple to Honour and to Virtue, and it could not be done by more worthy hands. The pontiffs who were consulted, having replied that one temple could not suffice for these two divinities, Marcellus caused two temples to be erected, built in such manner that it was necessary to pass through the temple of Virtue to enter the temple of Honour.

"Well, our Marcellus, our Consul, whose perpetual dignity the people is now voting, he who protected the arts and sciences amidst the horrors of war, who, under the wings of victory, revived them in Egypt, their first cradle, whence the Greeks and Archimedes had received them: in a word, our sword of France proposes to you, pontiffs of the law, to raise a double temple to Honour and Virtue."

The question being put, the law was passed by a majority of 166 to 110.

The First Consul was astonished at this last effort of the republican party, and was pleased with the exertions I had made. He charged me with all the details of the execution, with which I was employed till the rupture of the treaty of Amiens. I drew up the statutes of the order; I prepared the lists for the nominations; in concert with the director-general of the national domains, I prepared the endowments of the cohorts; each of them was to be the centre of an agricultural establishment adapted to the nature of the country. Care was taken to choose the most considerable estates among the territorial possessions which remained at the disposal of the government, arising from the confiscations of property, either belonging to the clergy, and which was distinguished by the denomination of national estates of the first origin, or that belonging to the emigrants; and out of this fund of endowments in hand, the chiefs of the cohorts were to have a revenue of at least forty or fifty thousand francs each. Some of these chief seats of the cohorts were to be more magnificently endowed; thus, for instance, that of the first cohort, intended for General Berthier, was fixed at Chambord, and included the palace, and the immense park, surrounded with walls. I discussed directly with the First Consul every thing relative to the composition of the cohorts.

The grand council of the legion being formed, it was to

proceed to the nomination of the grand-chancellor of the order, and of the high-treasurer. When the First Consul, as grand-master of the order, assembled this council, conformably to the statutes which he had approved, he collected the votes, and I was unanimously proposed for the place of grand-chancellor. This choice, however, was not conformable to the views of the First Consul. He deferred his decision, and told his brother Joseph, after the sitting of the council, that he would not have that high office filled by a general officer, but by a person holding only civil rank, in order to do away with every notion of preference for the military order exclusively; that he should, therefore, appoint to the post of grand-chancellor of the legion of honour, the senator Lacépède, who had no other employment to divert him from the function of superior administrator of the legion, whereas General Dumas was to be employed in the army, conformably with the wish which he had expressed. Notwithstanding the hope with which I might have flattered myself, it would not have been without much regret, that on obtaining a post so eminent, and so advantageous to my fortune, I should have seen my military career interrupted, before I had recovered the rank of general of division. I had, in fact, since the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, frequently solicited the First Consul to employ me in the army, and give me an opportunity to resume my rank. My family, and particularly my wife, felt more than myself this disappointment.

I continued, however, to prepare the plan for the demarcation of the cohorts, the choice of the chief seats, the partition of the endowments in land; but when I delivered the work entirely completed to the First Consul at St. Cloud, after having carefully examined and discussed it, he all at once exclaimed, "This is too grand and too considerable for the Legion of Honour. I intend to exalt the Senate by the power of riches, to form *senatoraries*, and give them great endowments in land. Your work is complete, it is quite ready: the senators are the elders of the family, the preference must be given them: you will deliver this work, and every thing relative to it, to the commission of the Senate, which I have formed for this purpose, and of which M. Barthélemy is president. We will endow the Legion of Honour in some other manner. I shall give it a revenue in

the public funds and other domains. Thus I shall connect the institution with the public weal."

After having executed this order, I was directed to deliver to the grand chancellor, Lacépède, and the high treasurer, General Dejean, the portfolio of the Legion of Honour. I had nothing more to do with it, except to make such friendly communications as might render the part which I had taken in these preparatory labours of some service.

About the month of May, 1803, the First Consul having erected the Grand Duchy of Tuscany into the kingdom of Etruria, and placed on this new throne the Duke of Parma, who had lately married an Infanta of Spain,—that Prince came to Paris with his Queen. Their marriage and accession were celebrated by fêtes. I was informed by M. de Talleyrand that the First Consul intended me to fill the place of minister of war in Tuscany, and that I was to be a member of the council of the new King. The Chevalier Azara, ambassador of Spain in France, made me the same offer. I was to have a solid and honourable establishment at the court of Florence, and was accordingly presented to the King and Queen of Etruria. Some conversation with that young prince, and the presence of some Spanish noblemen in his service, made me anticipate that I might meet with many difficulties, much disgust, and obtain only a melancholy compensation for leaving my own country. I consulted the Chevalier Azara, frankly stating my apprehensions; and that minister, who was really a most enlightened statesman, honourably confessed the want of capacity, the weak character of the young King, and the prejudices of the Queen against the French. He advised me not to accept this mission, and was so obliging as to speak on the subject to M. de Talleyrand, and to state to the First Consul the just grounds of my refusal.

CHAPTER V.

Rupture of the peace of Amiens—Camp of Bruges—General Davoust—My staff—The rank of general of division restored to me—Marriage of my eldest daughter—Preparations for the invasion of England—Action off Cape Grinez—Distribution of crosses of the Legion of Honour—Journey to Belgium with Prince Joseph—Embarkation of the army—Naval campaign—Serious project for landing in England—War with Austria and Russia—Functions of aid-major-general—Missions at the opening of the campaign—Battle of Elchingen—Attack and capitulation of Ulm—Missions during the second part of the campaign—Plan of operations—Combat of Marshal Mortier at Stein—Entrance into Vienna—Combat of Hollabrunn—Reconnoissance of the course of the Marsch—Battle of Austerlitz—Plan of a third campaign—Peace of Presburg—Mission in Dalmatia—Venice—Taking possession of the Illyrian provinces—Breach of faith of the Austrian commissioners—The Russians take possession of Cattaro—Reconnoissance on the Turkish frontier—Order to repair to the army in Naples—Return to Venice—Arrival at Rome.

At this time, which was that of the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, the First Consul had already begun to make preparations for a great expedition against England. The powerful party in England, which had blamed and unwillingly submitted to this peace, looked upon it only as a truce. Mr. Pitt had retired from the ministry, merely that it might be concluded by new ministers, who did not stand high in public opinion; he had retained all the influence which his great talents and his character necessarily gave him. His party and his system of eternal war against France were never stronger than at the moment of his retiring from the administration.

It was but too easy for that party to throw difficulties in the way of the execution of the principal conditions of the treaty of Amiens: the incorporation of some conquered territories adjoining France, which in fact made no change in the state of things, and was not really an increase of power, served the British Cabinet as a pretext to defer the restoration of the Island of Malta and of the Cape of Good Hope. This obstinate refusal irritated the First Consul. He was vexed by the insulting declamations against his person and his family with which the exasperated aristocratic party filled the newspapers. He did not comprehend the liberty

and even licentiousness of the English press, and laid the blame upon the Government, which happily had no power over this palladium.

Yet notwithstanding all that has been said, he would willingly have preserved the peace of which the French people were just beginning to taste the fruits: the ill success of the expedition to St. Domingo, the still precarious state of the finances, the necessity of restoring a unity of feeling in the army, which was divided by the different opinions of the generals, and that of maturing his plans of absolute sovereignty, would have induced him to make concessions, if they had not been demanded in too haughty a tone, which left no doubt of the intention to provoke him to war.

In the formation of the grand army for the expedition against England, I was appointed chief of the staff of the third corps, which was first called by the name of the Camp of Bruges, and the command-in-chief given to General Davoust. He was the intimate friend of General Desaix, had distinguished himself in the war in Upper Egypt, and had succeeded to the confidence and the favour with which Napoleon honoured that illustrious general. The rapid promotion of General Davoust had excited envy: his firm but restless and distrustful character procured him many enemies. I had known him when very young, while he was still lieutenant in the regiment of Champagne cavalry. My intimacy with Desaix had disposed him in my favour, and gained me his esteem. Yet my situation was difficult. I thought I could perceive that he feared that at his outset in the chief command, too much importance would be ascribed to my advice. I therefore had to gain his confidence by the most rigorous accuracy in every thing relative to the service, and by great reserve in my deportment. I speedily recognised in General Davoust the qualities essentially necessary to a warrior and a private individual, which he afterwards developed in the course of his brilliant career. After some trial we agreed very well together. He appeared to be equally satisfied with the manner in which I performed my duties, and with my society, and favoured me with his friendship, which I always cultivated and preserved unimpaired. I felt myself honoured by it, and respect his memory.

I had chosen for my three aide-de-camps Colonel Laroque,

a brave officer, who afterwards attained the rank of general of brigade and died in his retreat in Alsace, in consequence of his labours and wounds; Captain Charles Dampièrre, of the dragoons, now a peer of France, son of my old friend General Dampièrre, commander-in-chief of the French army in Flanders in 1793, where he was mortally wounded at the battle of Famart; and Lieutenant Clermont-Tonnère, of the artillery, who has since been minister of war. I had likewise caused Colonel Louis Romeuf to be appointed adjutant-general, and attached to my staff. Combes, my nearest relation, whom I have always loved and treated as a son, was employed in the administration of this corps; he remained with me, and acted as my secretary, with perfect knowledge of the details of the service, and the most active vigilance. My deputy chief of the staff was the brave Colonel Hervo, who afterwards, having succeeded me in the third corps, fell on the field of battle at Eckmühl, in an action as heroic as that of the celebrated d'Assas.

Such was the composition of my military family at the camp of Ostend, during two campaigns of anxious expectation. The merit and the various talents of the persons by whom I was surrounded, the attachment which they manifested to me, and their zealous co-operation in my labours, rendered my task easy and my leisure hours very agreeable. This little circle of friends, divided by no differences of opinion, was increased by some other officers, remarkable for their talents and their knowledge; such as Captain Despré, of the engineers, since a distinguished general, who after having commanded the school of application of the royal corps of the staff, and filled the office of chief of the staff of the army of Catalonia, and of that of Africa, entered the Belgian service as major-general. Death has prematurely closed his brilliant career. I was as happy as I could hope to be at a distance from my wife and children. The First Consul, in consequence of the obliging report of General Davoust, had himself expressed his satisfaction with my services, by giving me the commission of general of division, by which I recovered my former rank in the army.

In November, 1804, I obtained a furlough to go to Paris, on occasion of the marriage of my eldest daughter with M. de Saint Didier, the eldest of two brothers of an old and honourable family of Provence. Madame Dumas had proposed to me this union, of which she was very desirous, and

of which I readily approved. Being summoned as councillor of state, to be present at the ceremony of the coronation of the Emperor, I had the satisfaction, and full leisure to conclude and to celebrate the marriage of my daughter. The Emperor was pleased to include my son-in-law in his civil list, by appointing him prefect of the palace.

In the month of February, 1805, I rejoined the army at Dunkirk, to which place General Davoust, who had been raised to the dignity of Marshal of the Empire, had been ordered to remove his head-quarters. The preparations for embarking were pushed with the greatest activity; the flotillas collected at the port of Boulogne, and the three corps of the army under Marshal Davoust, Marshal Soult, and Marshal Ney, stationed along the coast of the channel from Ostend to Saint-Valery, gradually drew nearer together, in proportion as the flotillas, in spite of the opposition of the English cruisers, assembled either at Boulogne, or in the little neighbouring ports of Ambleteuse, Fimereux, and Saint-Valery. The Dutch flotilla under Admiral Verhuel, which was destined for the embarkation of the third corps, accompanied these movements; and as the stations Ostende, Dunkirk, and Calais, were the nearest to the English coast, Admiral Verhuel, passing from one to another, had several sharp actions, in which he gained great glory, and proved that these slight vessels, these gun-boats and fishing-boats, armed with a few heavy guns, were able to manœuvre and to engage frigates and men-of-war of the largest size.

When Admiral Verhuel's little squadrons, after having proceeded in the open sea to the middle of the channel, were too much pressed by the superior naval force of the enemy, the Admiral, sailing along the coast, drew the English under the fire of our batteries, and was likewise supported by our excellent light artillery. These frequent actions, which, setting aside some damage, were always equally fortunate and well combined, greatly contributed to train our soldiers, who were detached alternately to serve on board the flotilla. Marshal Davoust encouraged them by his example; he was always on the shore with his staff, directing his artillery in person, which was so well commanded by the brave General Sorbier. The most important of these actions was that of the Dutch flotilla on its way from the roads of Dunkirk and Calais to the port of Ambleteuse, where the third corps of the army went to encamp about the month of May, 1805.

It was necessary to double Cape Grinez in the presence of more than eighty English men-of-war. The shallows obliged the admiral to stand out to sea. It was a dangerous operation, for the English advanced towards the Cape to intercept the flotilla. The marshal, after having placed on this promontory sixty pieces of cannon which were directed by General Lariboissière of the artillery, left me to command, and went in person with his aide-de-camp on board Admiral Verhuel's gun-boat. The action was warm and brilliant. The fire of the batteries of Cape Grinez kept the English at a distance, and the passage was effected with some loss, but with entire success.

It was about this time that the Emperor Napoleon assembled the three corps of the army at Boulogne, and gave the most splendid military spectacle I ever witnessed; the distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour. I had been raised a short time before to the rank of commander.

During my stay at Paris at the time of the coronation, when the Emperor formed the civil establishment of his household and that of the princes his brothers, I had been named, on the proposal of Prince Joseph, to one of the places of chamberlain to his highness, and chosen to accompany him to Milan, in case that he accepted the crown of Lombardy, which was in vain offered him by his brother. Prince Joseph had, at the beginning of the campaign, gone before the Emperor to the camp at Boulogne, where he commanded the fourth regiment of infantry in the division of General Vandamme. I was summoned to join him, and obtained permission from Marshal Davoust to accompany the prince on his journey to Belgium. He was received at Brussels with the most lively acclamations, and visited the port of Antwerp, where M. Malouet, formerly intendant of the navy, who had returned to France and been well received by Napoleon, justified by his activity, and his talents in the construction of that immense work, the Arsenal of Antwerp, the opinion which the Emperor had conceived of its merit and the utility of its service.

After having accompanied Prince Joseph on this excursion, and visited the principal towns of Belgium, I returned to resume my duties in the camp of Ambleteuse. The formidable armament for the expedition against England was completed; several essays of embarkation at Boulogne

and the little ports adjacent had proved that nothing was wanting in the admirable organisation of this expedition. Ninety thousand men of all arms had each his place assigned him in one of the 2000 armed vessels of which the flotilla was composed. They carried no less than 6000 pieces of cannon, including those belonging to the vessels, the field artillery, the heavy cannon, and the bridge equipages. They had likewise immense stores of ammunition, arms, accoutrements, tools, materials for the prompt construction of forts and entrenchments, and three months' provisions for the whole army.

These immense preparations attracted the attention of all Europe: few persons were inclined to believe the reality of this gigantic enterprise. They could not conceive the rashness, nor even the possibility of an engagement by flotillas, and of the landing of so numerous an army, and of such an accumulation of stores, &c. in the presence of the smallest English squadron, and it was generally believed that the Emperor had never had any other intention than to alarm the islanders, and to oblige the British government to recall and keep at home both its military and naval forces, in order to secure the defence of the territory. This was far from being the case; Napoleon had never thought of risking his flotillas and his army in so unequal a naval combat, without first making sure of the principal element of success, namely, the certainty of the free navigation of the channel, by an incontestable superiority of naval force, for a given time. An able combination which he had been preparing for more than a year, and the secret of which he had concealed from the enemy, was the foundation of this hope; the object and the result of this combination were the assembling of more than sixty French and Spanish ships of the line, and their appearance at the mouth of the channel, and the expulsion from those seas of the inferior naval force which the English might be able to oppose to him. The British squadrons were then dispersed, employed in cruising, and blockading distant points, whither Napoleon had had the art to attract them. The best and most vigilant of the English admirals, Lord Nelson, had fallen into the snare; he had pursued a French fleet, commanded by Admiral Villeneuve, in its voyage to the West Indies, and the latter escaping and returning to Europe was going to rally the French and Spanish squadrons,

which waited for him in the ports of Ferrol and Corunna. Without stopping there, he was to sail towards the north with forty-four ships of the line, including the four French ships which were cruising off the island of Aix, to release the twenty-one ships of the line, under Admiral Gantheaume, which were blockaded in Brest by Admiral Cornwallis, to compel the latter, as well as the squadron which observed the flotillas, to take refuge in the ports of Plymouth and Portsmouth, and to enter the channel with sixty-five ships of the line. But Admiral Villeneuve, after a useless drawn battle with Admiral Calder, having been joined by the ships at Ferrol and Corunna, instead of following his instructions, and proceeding to Brest, sailed for Cadiz. This fault broke the combination, and saved England from the greatest danger with which she had ever been threatened.

Fortune, which thus betrayed Napoleon on the shores of the ocean, opened to him on the continent a new career, more safe and no less glorious than the invasion of England might have been. Scarcely was he informed that Austria and Russia had formed a coalition with England, and were directing their armies to the Rhine and the Adige, when in a few days, I might say in a few hours, he made all the necessary arrangements immediately to raise the camps at Boulogne, and to march this fine army into the heart of Germany. In fact, it had been continually exercised for two years in all the manœuvres, accustomed to all the operations, to all the fatigues, and to the most austere discipline which could train and inure brave soldiers. M. Daru, who, under the orders of counsellor of state Petiet, or rather in concert with him, then performed the functions of intendant-general, has often related to me that he was summoned by the Emperor to receive his particular instructions on the means of providing for the several wants of the army, during the march of the troops in corps or in divisions, as well on this as on the other side of the Rhine. Napoleon thought it necessary to confide to this able administrator not only the idea of the plan for the campaign which he had conceived, but likewise to develope all the details. He dictated to Daru off-hand, and without once stopping, those memorable instructions, that admirable plan of the campaign, which we saw executed precisely as he had fixed it, doubtless after profound meditation. The history of ancient and modern wars affords no other example

of such an effort of genius, embracing so vast a theatre, and of a foresight at once so great and so minute, which, as events have proved, left nothing to chance.

The army intended for the expedition to England received the denomination of the grand army. In the organisation of the staff, I was appointed, together with General Andreossy, chief of the staff of the corps of Marshal Soult, to the functions of assistant major-general (*aide-major-général**) under the immediate orders of Marshal Berthier, Major-general and Minister of War. General Andreossy performed the duties of chief of the staff for all the details of the service of both the cavalry and infantry; my functions were distinct from his; I was quarter-master-general of the army, charged with all reconnoissances, marches, and movements. I was much flattered with this proof of the Emperor's confidence, and happy to share with so worthy a colleague as General Andreossy in the duties of the staff.

While the corps of the army, marching in divisions traversed France by forced marches and by different routes, to reach the banks of the Rhine, I stopped at Paris, where I received my instructions, and went to spend a few, too short, moments in the bosom of my family at my country-house at Soisy-sous-Etioles. My father-in-law, my wife, my two daughters, and my young son, were there assembled. I was far from foreseeing that these tender adieux were almost the last that I should bid to my Julia; I was not again to see her till she was on her death-bed.

I left Soisy with my aide-de-camp, Clermont Tonnerre, and repaired to the head-quarters at Strasburg, where the Emperor very shortly arrived.

I was actively employed from the very beginning of this campaign. I had, first of all, to traverse Swabia in all directions, and crossing the routes taken by the several columns converging on the right wing, to intercept, beyond the Danube and the Lech, the line of operations of the Austrian army, which had advanced as far as Ulm.

I rejoined the head-quarters at Donauworth the day before the battle of Wertingen. Having given an account to the Emperor of the march of the columns of the left wing, which had passed the Rhine at Maintz, and the

* See page 20, vol. i.

Neckar at Heidelburg, and at Neckarsulm; he said to me, "Well, we have gained the first battle with our legs; we shall gain the second with our arms."

He made me set out again immediately, after having dictated to me, in the presence of General Clarke, who performed the office of the Emperor's private secretary, fresh instructions, relative to the direction which the three corps of Marshal Davoust, General Marmont, and Marshal Bernadotte, were to take, in order to pass the Danube, and to complete the grand movement which would isolate the Austrian army, shut up in Ulm. I went first to meet the corps of General Marmont, which followed that of Marshal Davoust, and like that was to debouch on Neuburg; I then went to meet Marshal Bernadotte, whom I found with the first corps bivouacking round the town of Eichstädt; then turning back I preceded General Marmont at Neuberg, on the Danube, where I communicated to Marshal Davoust the instructions which had been given me.

I went to rejoin the Emperor's head-quarters at Augsburg, who had just arrived there with his guard. I accompanied him in his march towards Ulm, and in his reconnoissance of the approaches to that place, and of the positions of the Austrian army, on the right bank of the Danube, and on the Isar. We were on an eminence, very near the enemy's outposts, which the troops of the corps of Marshal Lannes were attacking briskly, and forcing to fall back, when we perceived on the left bank of the Danube the movements of the corps of Marshal Ney, and soon afterwards the attack of the Abbey of Elchingen, executed with so much vigour and success. We were about half a league from the spot; the Emperor hastened to it with all possible speed, but when we reached the bridge, which the Austrians had not had time to destroy, the firing had ceased, and Marshal Ney was pursuing the rear of the Austrians, which retreated in disorder to Ulm. The Emperor's head-quarters were transferred to the Abbey, where the action had been the hottest; I remained there with the Major-general.

The brilliant affair of Elchingen having given the Emperor the advantage of a strong point on the right bank, he lost no time in profiting by it, to make all his guard, the corps of Marshal Lannes, and that of the grenadiers united under the command of General Oudinot, pass over to that

side, in order to shut up the enemy in Ulm. The weather became very bad; the bridge of Elchingen was carried away by a sudden rise of the river; and we learnt at the same time the sally made by the Archduke Ferdinand, and the brilliant action of the division of General Dupont. The Emperor, after having ordered the Grand Duke of Berg to pursue the Archduke, marched towards Ulm, to complete the investment of that place on the left bank, and to make himself master of Mount Saint Michael, one of the eminences which command the town. The rain fell in torrents; the Emperor stopped in a wretched hovel within half cannon-shot of the intrenchments, the attack of which he confided to General Bertrand. He went thither in person, and it was there, that having advanced very far, just at the moment when the enemy was unmasking a battery, Marshal Lannes attempted in vain to hinder him from exposing himself any further, and even went so far as to lay hold of his horse's bridle in order to stop him.

After the taking of the redoubts of Mount Saint Michael, while the divisions which crowned the heights on our right were descending the slope, and driving the enemy's troops into the place, a strong sally, supposed to be of about 10,000 men, formed on an eminence, within half cannon-shot, and threatened our left flank. The Emperor ordered me to go to Marshal Ney, who had led his troops into the suburb, and up to the outworks of the place, and convey to him orders not to push his attack any further, and not to pay any attention to the position which the enemy occupied on his left, because he was going to have that position attacked and carried by the troops of Marshal Lannes and Prince Murat. I found Marshal Ney far advanced into the suburb, in the midst of the sharp-shooters. After he had heard the orders which I brought him, he said, "General, tell the Emperor, that here glory is not divided; I have already provided for that attack on our flank." The Austrian troops having been beaten on all points, and driven into the town, and the investment completely formed on both banks of the river, the Emperor with his staff returned to his head-quarters at Elchingen.

A few days afterwards when General Mack had resolved to capitulate, and to surrender with his whole army, I was commissioned to have the capitulation carried into execution. The Emperor came and bivouacked on an emi-

nence, at the foot of which I caused 30,000 Austrians to defile and lay down their arms. I presented to the Emperor, successively, twenty-three generals, one of whom, Count Giulay, asked and obtained of Napoleon leave to go to the Emperor of Austria, to give him a faithful account of this great event, and incline him to overtures for peace.

After having completed all I had to do at Ulm, and sent away the columns of prisoners and their escorts, under Gederal Villatte, I hastened to join the imperial head-quarters at Munich.

The Emperor who, in so short a time, had so gloriously ended this first part of the campaign, or rather this first campaign, had already commenced the operations of the second, the object of which was nothing less than the capture of the capital of the empire, and the conquest of the Hereditary States. I was immediately charged with all the details for effecting the passage of the Inn, and the occupation of Braunau, which had just been evacuated. The imperial head-quarters were fixed at Linz, whither I repaired to give an account to the major-general of the movements of the several corps of the army which were crossing the Traun and the Ens to penetrate into Upper Austria.

The Emperor sent for me, to give me, this was his expression, a very important mission. He first pointed out to me, on the maps of Upper and Lower Austria his plan of operations, and then dictated very summary instructions on the object which he specially intrusted to me. He knew that the Russian army occupied the position of St. Pölten, twenty leagues west of Vienna, with its right wing on the Danube behind Mölk, to cover the bridge of Krems, and extending its left towards the first chain of the Styrian mountains. It was said, and this was probable, that all the remains of the Austrian army in Germany, which might have been collected, or that could have been withdrawn from Styria and the Tyrol, would join the Russian army at St. Pölten. The Emperor flattered himself with fighting a decisive battle. The following were the means by which he prepared his victory.

He purposed to execute, by his right wing, a strategetic movement, precisely similar to that which he had executed by his left wing, in the first part of the campaign. Three corps, those of Marshal Davoust, General Marmont, and

Marshal Soult, had passed the Traun at Lambach, and the Ens at Steyer: those of Davoust and Marmont, forming the right wing, were to march along the foot of the chain of mountains as far as Mariazell, on the high road of Leoben, and then to get into the rear of the position of St. Pölten. Marshal Soult was to enter, by Amstetten, the high road to Vienna along the Danube, to form the centre of the army, and to deploy before the enemy's position. He was preceded by two corps of the army which were to form the left of the line of battle, the vanguard, under the command of Marshal Lannes, and the reserve of cavalry under Prince Murat. The Emperor, with the imperial guard, followed the corps of Marshal Soult; the corps of Marshal Ney was directed towards the Tyrol, and that of Marshal Mortier, who had passed the Danube at Linz, marched abreast of that of Marshal Soult, proceeding along the left bank of the river.

I was ordered to explain this operation to General Marmont and Marshal Davoust, as far as each had to take part in it. I went first to Steyer, where I found General Marmont; he had just taken the place of the corps of Marshal Davoust, which, after a brilliant action, had forced the difficult passage of the Ens. It was not till after a very fatiguing march, and after having abandoned my horses at the foot of a glacier, that I overtook the column of infantry of the corps of Marshal Davoust, and arrived with it, at his head-quarters, at Gaming, a village situated at the bottom of the valley. The marshal had guessed the Emperor's design, and was preparing to march to Mariazell. While I was explaining to him the general movement of the army, he was informed that General Merfeldt had been overtaken and repulsed at Steyer, and was retreating, with a corps of five or six thousand men by the Leoben road, on the other side of the chain of mountains. His march had been discovered by Colonel Clement, who had remained at Bayrisch Waidhofen with his regiment of dragoons, to observe the enemy's movements, and had pushed a detachment to the other side of the chain of mountains.

After having executed my mission to Marshal Davoust, I returned to Bayrisch Waidhofen, to take the cross-road which leads to Amstetten on the high road from Linz to Vienna. The whole country between the mountains and the Danube was still occupied by parties of the enemy,

which the march of the right wing of the French army by the mountains, and that of the left wing by the high road to Vienna, would force to fall back on the position of St. Pölten. I placed myself with Colonel Clement, at the head of his regiment, and we crossed the whole plain, which was intersected with woods, without meeting an enemy. I rejoined the imperial head-quarters at the abbey of Mölk, where I made my report to the Emperor. He received, at the same time, the news of the successful action of Marshal Davoust, who had defeated and dispersed the corps of General Merfeldt.

The Emperor had learned, before he arrived at Mölk, the retreat of the Russian army over the bridge of Krems to the other side of the Danube, and his hopes of a general battle were vanished. This movement of the Russian army gave rise to well-founded apprehensions for the corps of Marshal Mortier, who, being on the left bank of the Danube, and turned and cut off at Dirnstein by a very superior force, displayed admirable firmness, and covered himself with glory in a most perilous situation. The soldiers, imitating his example, fought valiantly, opened themselves a passage through the enemy's ranks, and were entirely relieved from their critical position by the division of General Dupont. The Russians continued their retreat, passing through Moravia, to meet the second Russian army, commanded by the Emperor Alexander in person, in order to join with this mass of auxiliary forces all that the Emperor of Austria might yet collect of the remains of his armies. Napoleon made his army march to Vienna, and I followed the head-quarters, which were first at Burckersdorf and then at Schönbrunn.

The Austrian general Giulay, the same whom the Emperor had permitted when at Ulm to go to the Emperor Francis, came to Burckersdorf with proposals for peace, which were not accepted.

The passage of the bridges over the Danube at Amspitz having been surprised by Marshal Lannes and Prince Murat, we warmly pursued the rear of the Russian army, commanded by Prince Bagration. This corps was overtaken at Hollabrünn, by the vanguard of Prince Murat, with the grenadiers of Oudinot. Bagration entered into a parley with Murat, and by means of a suspension of arms, which Napoleon severely blamed, he gave time to the main

body of the Russian army to file off by way of Znaym towards Brünn. Prince Bagration having remained in his position at Hollabrünn, Murat received orders immediately to attack him with the troops that he had with him, and with the division of General Legrand, which formed the head of a column of the corps of Marshal Soult. The action was very warm and glorious for Prince Bagration, who retreated during the night, after having lost many men. I arrived on the field of battle beyond Hollabrünn just at the moment when General Oudinot had been wounded. The Emperor appointed the High Marshal Duroc to succeed him in the command of the grenadiers. The army continued to march to Znaym, where the Emperor fixed his head-quarters.

The troops, which had warmly pursued the Russian rear-guard, bivouacked about Znaym. The night was very dark; we were unacquainted with the ground, and the several corps had taken positions on both sides of the town on the two banks of the Taya, but in such disorder that there was no knowing how to find any one of the corps. The major-general ordered me, by command of the Emperor, to reconnoitre myself, during the night, the position of the several corps, and give him an account on the following day. I was already extremely fatigued, and yet I made this reconnoissance on foot, accompanied only by my aide-de-camp, Clermont Tonnerre. We walked round this immense circle of bivouacs, with no light but that of the fires, which often misled us: before daybreak I had ascertained the respective positions of the several corps around Znaym, so that it was possible to indicate the rallying points, and to distribute the marching orders, to direct the whole army to Brünn, to Austerlitz, and the other positions in the vicinity.

A few days before the battle of Austerlitz, which nothing had given us reason to expect, the Emperor, believing that the movements of the two Russian armies united with the Austrians beyond Olmütz, might mask their march, to proceed along the left bank of the river Marsch, and combine their operations with those of the Archduke Charles, in order to cut off the grand army from Vienna, ordered me to reconnoitre the course of the Marsch, from the union of the Taya with that river, to its junction with the Danube, and to ascertain whether the bridge of Hoff, by which we had

a communication with Presburg, was or was not occupied by the enemy. I was authorised to take from the cantonments of the division of dragoons under General Beaumont, the detachments which I should think to be necessary. I proceeded to General Beaumont at Nicolsburg, and thence to Gildsburg, the castle and principal residence of Prince Liechtenstein. I learnt that Colonel Franceschi with his regiment, of the eighth hussars, who had passed the Taya, a little above the junction, had been forced, after a warm action, to fall back before a superior force, and I was led to believe that this body of light troops opened the march which the Emperor had supposed. Taking with me only a hundred dragoons commanded by a captain, I approached the right bank of the Marsch, along which I proceeded the whole day, always leaving my detachment on my right, and a little in the rear, going in person, with my aide-de-camp and a few dragoons to visit all the passages from which the boats had been withdrawn for the protection of the posts on the opposite bank. We perceived only two small posts of infantry and cavalry, which did not fire at us. At nightfall I stopped at the seat of Count Kinsky, about five leagues from Hoff, where I met General Heudelet, of the division of General Friant, which was part of the corps of Marshal Davoust: he had just arrived there with a battalion and two pieces of cannon, and had not yet received any information. I made an arrangement with him to continue the reconnoissance of the lower part, as far as the mouth of the Marsch, which was likewise the object for which he had been detached. We had scarcely joined when he received orders to return to his division, which was preparing to march to Brünn.

At daybreak I continued my reconnoissances, and soon perceived a large body of cavalry ascending the right bank of the Marsch by the road on which I was advancing. Uncertain whether it was the van of an enemy's division which had already passed the bridge, I sent my detachment towards the heights on my right, and ordered my aide-de-camp to go and reconnoitre as closely as possible this head of a column: he soon returned to tell me that it was one of the regiments of light cavalry belonging to the corps of Marshal Davoust, which came from Presburg, and was going to take the high road from Vienna to Brünn. I hastened to reach the bridge, where I joined General Gudin,

who was debouching with his division, and who had likewise orders to take the road from Vienna to Brünn, where Marshal Davoust was collecting his corps. I no longer had any doubt that the Emperor, after my departure from Brünn, had resolved to give battle to the allies.

At Hoff I was four marches from Brünn; my mission was completed. I ordered Clermont Tonnerre to take back the detachment to Nicolsburg, and to get as soon as possible into the high road. I advised him to keep always to the left, and not to take the road by which we had come so far, because I had no doubt that the corps of the enemy's light troops which had repulsed Franceschi, had already passed the Marsch in my rear, in order to intercept our communications. The captain who commanded the detachment, instead of following my aide-de-camp, persisted in leading it back to the Castle of Feldsburg, which was already evacuated by the rest of the regiment, where he was surrounded by the Cossacks and taken prisoner after a vigorous resistance.

I had left my horses, which were knocked up, and taken post-horses to return to Brünn by the Vienna road.

Though I made all possible haste, I did not reach Nicolsburg till daybreak on the 2d December, 1805, the very day of the battle. I found General Beaumont assembling his division of cavalry; I was still twelve leagues from Brünn. I very happily passed a defile at the moment when parties of the enemies were issuing from the forest in the road. They were kept in check by a battery of light artillery which preceded the division of General Beaumont. In proportion as I approached Brünn the sound of the cannon along the whole line of battle, and the brisk firing of musketry in the direction of Telnitz, which was at the extreme right of the field of battle, indicated to me, though vaguely, the respective positions of the two armies beyond the town.

It was towards noon when I arrived there. General Pannetier who commanded the place had the kindness to lend me a horse. I was on the field of battle a little to the left of the heights of Prazen, which Marshal Soult had caused to be carried by the division of St. Hilaire, just at the moment of the fine charge of the cuirassiers, and when Marshal Duroc, at the head of the grenadiers, had made between five and six thousand prisoners, among whom was Prince Repnin, lay down their arms. I endeavoured to join

the Emperor near the Lakes, when he caused a heavy cannonade to be directed against the routed Russian columns. Not meeting with him at that spot which he had just quitted, and night approaching, I returned to the Emperor's bivouac, where I joined my colleague General Andreossy, to wait for fresh orders. It was not till nearly ten o'clock at night that we were informed that the Emperor had gone in advance of the line, on the road to Olmütz, and that he was to pass the night at the Post-house. We mounted our horses to go thither. The day had been very fine, but the weather had suddenly changed; the night was dark and rainy. We had nearly gone a quarter of a league, when we met a trumpeter and two Austrian officers, conducted by a French officer; it was Prince John of Liechtenstein, who being commissioned to go to Napoleon with proposals for an armistice, and not knowing where to find the imperial head-quarters, was very glad at having met with us. We conducted him to the Post-house, where the Emperor and all his staff were confined to two small chambers, which had served the Russians as a military hospital during the battle. I called up Caulaincourt, the master of the horse, and announced Prince Liechtenstein, who was immediately introduced to Napoleon. Never, perhaps, was so important an affair treated of in any palace of the European sovereigns as in this miserable dwelling.

On the morning of the 3d of December, I accompanied the Emperor in his visit to the whole of the left part of the field of battle. He questioned me respecting the mission with which I had been intrusted, and asked if it was true that the enemy had made a movement by his left, and if he had advanced to the great road from Vienna. I told him what I had seen, and what might be presumed to be the enemy's design. "Then," said he, "you were not able to be here yesterday?" I answered that I had arrived on the field of battle too late to see the admirable arrangement for the attack, and the brilliant manœuvre by which he had so rapidly secured his victory, but yet time enough to have seen the result of the finest battle and the most memorable event of the age.

I accompanied the Emperor to the Castle of Austerlitz, where he fixed his head-quarters, as the Emperor of Russia had done on the preceding day. I was sent with orders to Marshal Duroc, who with his corps of grenadiers was a

league beyond the Post-house, on the high-road to Olmutz. I then returned to the Emperor's head-quarters at Austerlitz, and being directed on the following day to go over the whole field of battle, where a great number of wounded and stragglers were still wandering about, and where arms of every description, pieces of cannon, dismounted and broken, were collected, I regretted not being present at the interview of the Emperor of Austria and Napoleon. It was at that ever-memorable bivouac of the three Emperors that the armistice and the first overtures of the negotiations were decided.

The Emperor having returned to Brunn, whither he had summoned Talleyrand his minister for foreign affairs, I was engaged in arranging the quarters for the several corps of the army, and afterwards went to the major-general at Schönbrunn, where the Emperor Napoleon had taken up his abode during the negotiations.

The dispersion and reduced state of the Austrian forces, the retreat of the Russian army, and the reparations which Prussia offered on account of its inconsiderate and dilatory conduct, left scarcely any doubt that the hard conditions imposed on Austria would be accepted. The Emperor Napoleon, however, was meditating the plan of a third campaign, in case the hesitation and reluctance of the Emperor Francis to submit to great sacrifices should compel the conqueror at Austerlitz to break the armistice. My business was to trace the marches of the several corps of the army in order to execute a great movement towards the frontiers of Hungary. When I was summoned to the Emperor to lay before him this project, and especially the itinerary of the corps of General Marmont, which was to form the right wing, he reproached me with having fixed too short day's marches, and yet they were not less then ten leagues, almost always among mountains, and in the worst season of the year. "It is not thus," said he, "that a great change of front can be executed in the presence of the enemy; you make them march like cats."

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace of Presburg, I was to return to France, and I had already sent my equipage to Paris, when, on the very day before my intended departure, I received orders to go to Dalmatia, to examine that province which was ceded to France; and I was likewise appointed commissioner to take possession of that of

the Bocche di Cattaro. I took with me only my aide-de-camp Clermont Tonnerre, whom I had sent to take a plan of the field of battle at Austerlitz; and who, after having executed this task with equal activity and ability, had come to join me at Vienna, where I was obliged to leave his comrade Dampièrre, who was ill.

I left Vienna on the 12th of January, and conformably to my instructions repaired first to Venice, to concert with General Lauriston, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, who was commissioned to take possession of the Venetian States. I took the road to Clagenfurt, and descended into Italy by Ponteba. On the 17th of January, 1806, I arrived at Venice, without General Lauriston, who had preceded me by some days, had taken the command which had been given up to him by the Austrian General Count Bellegarde, to the great satisfaction of the Venetians, who detested the Austrian government. We received a striking proof of the good disposition of the people of Venice with respect to the French. Count Bellegarde had prohibited masquerades and public amusements. General Lauriston immediately restored the customs of the Carnival; the public joy manifested itself every where, and we were complimented and blesesd as if we had rendered an immense service and delivered from slavery this ancient queen of the seas.

A few days afterwards General Lauriston and myself were sent for to Verona by Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, who, during the stay of the Emperor Napoleon at Munich, had just married there the Princess Royal of Bavaria, the King's eldest daughter, to whom we were presented. He gave us fresh orders from the Emperor, and as he was to go to Venice with the Vice-queen, we went there before him to prepare for his public entry, which was very brilliant, and favoured by the finest weather that could be desired. The Venetians speedily prepared a regatta on the canals; that is to say, a great number of gondolas, represented various sea-monsters, and were manned with rowers richly or elegantly dressed. The gondola destined for the Prince and Princess was magnificently ornamented. All the back part was enclosed by mirrors, and furnished with sofas covered with the richest stuffs. In its passage through the Lagoons, a great number of gondolas, dressed in the finest colours, with bands of musicians, surrounded, preceded, or followed the gondola, and made the air ring with the most enthu-

siastic acclamations. On approaching the city at the entrance of the grand canal, where the crowd of gondolas was immense, the beautiful Princess appeared on the deck by the side of the Viceroy. Her lofty stature, her rich and elegant dress, her noble and affable manners, corresponded with the eagerness of the people. The royal gondola entered the canal amidst salutes of artillery and the plaudits of the citizens; it landed at the Pisani Palace, where the Viceroy's head-quarters were fixed.

General Lauriston was kept at Venice by the Viceroy, who judged his presence necessary to settle the new order of things, and to organise the several branches of the administration; and I was instructed to take possession of the three provinces of Dalmatia, Istria, and the Bocche di Cattaro. I immediately began to prepare for my journey. As I foresaw that, during this reconnoissance, and the taking possession of the several provinces, I should sometimes have to go by sea, either to visit some islands in the Gulf of Quarnaro, or to go to different parts of the coast of Dalmatia and Ragusa, I hired a light vessel of the kind called *brassera*. It was commanded by an Istrian, who was recommended to me by very respectable persons. His name was Giacomo, and he was considered as one of the most experienced mariners. His crew consisted of six robust and very skilful sailors. I had this little vessel armed with a howitzer, and took with me six chosen gunners, a chest of arms of all kinds, ammunition, and provisions. This kind of vessel, with a latine sail, can likewise be rowed, and make three or four miles an hour in a calm.

The Marquis de Guisilieri, the Austrian commissioner appointed to accompany me to the Bocche di Cattaro, where in his presence, and with his co-operation, I was to take possession of it in the name of the Emperor Napoleon, wrote to me from Trieste to inform me of his arrival. He invited me to join him there, that we might go together to the fortress of Zara, the capital of Dalmatia, where General Brady, commander-in-chief of the Illyrian provinces, resided.

I embarked at Venice in my brassera, with my aide-de-camp Clermont Tonnerre, and a young man named Bernardini, who had been recommended to me as well acquainted with the country, and speaking with facility the different languages; in fact I had every reason to be satisfied with his services. We sailed from the anchorage of Malamocco,

at the entrance of the port of Venice, with a very good wind, and ran along the coast of the Adriatic, directing our course to Trieste; but the wind having abated during the night, we were obliged on the following day to make use of our oars. I was much satisfied with this trial of our little vessel. I was certain of being able to escape the English cruisers, and if their light boats should attempt to overtake me, my howitzer, which was very well masked, would have sufficed to make them repent of it.

We landed at Trieste, where I left Clermont Tonnerre with Bernardini, on board the brassera, and ordered them to go by sea to Zara, and wait for me there. I proceeded to Fiume, where in concert with the Marquis de Guisilieri I drew up a plan, or convention, for taking possession of the provinces of Illyria, namely Dalmatia, Istria, the Bocche di Cattaro, and their dependencies. I took care to stipulate in this convention (which was signed by the Austrian Commissioner and myself on the 9th of February, 1806), the time at which, after my proclamation and that of Baron de Brady, the Austrian governor-general, all the fortresses were to be given up to General Molitor; this convention contained also the necessary formalities and precautions for the evacuation of the country by the Austrian troops, and for the complete execution of the articles of the treaty of Presburg. The Marquis de Guisilieri offered me a seat in his carriage, which I accepted. We went, by way of Ottochacz, in Croatia, to Pago, and thence to Zara. It was a matter of great importance to me to become acquainted with my colleague. I soon perceived that he was a very amiable, well informed man, but one of the most subtle Italians, and one of those diplomatic agents who may be employed with success in the most complex intrigues. Profiting by this knowledge, I was very reserved in answering his questions. As he was perfectly acquainted with the country and its history, and with all the details of the administration, my curiosity was not troublesome to him; he even took pleasure in exciting and gratifying it; thus having stopped some hours at Ottochacz, I took this opportunity to inquire into the organisation of this military colony, which supplies Austria, at a small expense, with a body of good soldiers always ready to be put in motion. All the individuals are registered and formed into regiments; the police, administration of justice, and civil government are all under a military regimen, and subject to

military discipline; the authority of the officers is absolute, exercised according to their rank, without any discontent being excited by this rigorous system. The country is poor, and civilisation very backward; there is not, I believe, any person who has any civil capacity, and this institution cannot be supported except by the habit of living in a kind of slavery, and by the moderation with which the government uses its advantages, sacrificing, however, the liberty and the welfare of the people, to its interest and its safety.

From Ottochacz we went to Pago, in the little island of that name, which almost joins the continent; I admired the fine roads which the Austrians have made to communicate through Croatia, with Fiume, and the principal points of the coast.

In my conversations with Marquis Guisilieri, I often spoke of the object of our mission. As I endeavoured to obtain information respecting the country, and more particularly the fortified points, and the means of defence either at the entrance of the Bocche, or the town of Cattaro itself, my travelling companion manifested some hesitation; he expressed doubts and fears that the Russians might have anticipated us, and that the giving up of that place, which was the most important object of my mission, might experience some difficulties.

On our arrival at Zara, I found my little vessel and my travelling companions; they had touched at a little port in Istria, and had performed their voyage without accident.

Together with the Austrian commissioner, I waited on General Brady, by whom I was very well received. We entered into conversation, and the general, in the first place, communicated despatches which he had just received, and with which my crafty companion was probably better acquainted than he had thought fit to appear to be. The Russian admiral Siniavin had entered the channel of the Bocche di Cattaro, had landed a body of Russian troops, and summoned the Austrian governor to surrender to him, the place, the forts, and all the defences of the province, under the pretext that the cession stipulated by the treaty of Presburg could not prevent hostilities on the part of a power which had not been a contracting party, and that as the cession must be considered as having been effected, Russia had a right to make itself master of the place by force of arms. Marquis Guisilieri declared to me that he considered his mission at an end; that the Austrian governor of Cat-

taro had neither the means to maintain himself there, nor authority to commit hostilities, even in his own defence, against the Russian arms. I replied that it was his duty and mine to go to Cattaro, and I called on General Brady, since his troops held all the posts as far as the territory of Ragusa, to give me a sufficient escort, and to undertake, on his own responsibility, to conduct me safe to that place. He refused, under the pretext that he had received no instructions on this subject. The Marquis de Guisilicri added that, under these circumstances, he could not venture, without compromising his own character and mine, to accompany me to Cattaro, since I could not avoid falling into the hands of the Russian posts. M. Paulucci, an Italian naval officer, then in the service of Austria, but who soon afterwards entered that of Russia, was invited by General Brady to our conference, and by his statements and various details respecting the maritime defences of the Bocche di Cattaro, and the position of the ports, already occupied by the Russians, he confirmed all that had been advanced by Marquis Guisilieri and General Brady.

The intrigue and collusion were manifest; I loudly complained; I told Marquis Guisilieri that nothing ought to stop him, and that it was his duty to go in person to Cattaro, since there was still an Austrian garrison there; that I offered to accompany him under any disguise that he pleased; that, after having thus arrived at the place, or even at the first Russian post, I would declare my character; that the rest was my own business, at my own risk and peril. He rejected this means of confirming the violation of the treaty, and persisted in not quitting Zara till he had received fresh instructions from his court. Nothing remained for me to do but to give an account with the greatest accuracy, and without any reserve, to the Prince Viceroy and to General Andreossy, the French ambassador at Vienna.

In a few days afterwards, we received at Zara, as I naturally expected, the news of the evacuation of Cattaro by the Austrians, and the unconditional surrender of the place and of the whole territory to the Russians.

My conduct was approved; the Emperor Napoleon warmly resented this breach of faith, and persisted in demanding the fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaty; he demanded also, as a preliminary reparation, the punishment of the agents who had engaged in this intrigue. Guisilieri

and General Brady, were in appearance sacrificed; the first was imprisoned in a fortress. The state of Ragusa became subsequently the theatre of war; but the surrender of Cattaro to the French arms could not be obtained either by force or by negotiation till two years later, at the peace of Tilsit.

Not having been able to fulfil this essential part of my mission, I turned my attention to that which presented no obstacle that I could not overcome. I announced to General Brady the approaching arrival of General Molitor with his division, which Marshal Marmont, whom I had visited at his head-quarters at Trieste, had been ordered to send to Dalmatia, to take the place of the Austrian troops in the garrisons and ports which they still occupied. Awaiting the arrival of General Molitor, I left Zara, with my aide-de-camp, to reconnoitre the Turkish frontier beyond the Knin. I was very well received by the Dalmatian chiefs, who gave me escorts from one village to another, and went as far as the confines of the Turkish territory, where the commodities of the two countries are bartered against each other. I then descended the mountains, following the course of the Cerka. Before passing that river at the bottom of a defile I observed a mile stone, with the number of the 9th Roman Legion engraved on it. I then went to Salona where I visited the ruins and beautiful remains of the temples which belonged to the magnificent palace of Dioclęsian.

I was preparing to set out for Makurska, when I received at the same time, notice of the approaching arrival of General Molitor, and the order of the Emperor, which was forwarded by the Viceroy. It directed me to leave Dalmatia, and to go without delay to Prince Joseph, who commanded the army which was to occupy the kingdom of Naples. After meeting General Molitor, and conferring with him at Sebenico, I returned to Zara, where I had left my brassera. General Brady and Captain Paulucci were still there, making preparations for their departure. I went on board in rough weather, because my excellent pilot Giacomo, trusting in the goodness of his little vessel, assured me that it was the most favourable opportunity of escaping the vigilance of the English cruisers. At nightfall the wind, which continued contrary, became so violent and the sea so rough that we were obliged to put into a small island. There was no other habitation than a wretched convent where we took refuge. The wind having abated

a little we set sail in order to pass the Cavanella d'Ossero, a kind of channel, and tolerably safe anchorage, between two islands, the peaks of which are very lofty, and which is at the entrance of the Gulf of Quarnaro. Captain Paulucci had very obligingly advised me, and I believe without any bad intentions, to cast anchor, if the wind should be too contrary, at the island of Saint Pierre, to the southwest, and very near to the island of Ossero. Had I followed this advice, I should certainly have been taken by an English frigate and two brigs, which were lying there at anchor. Clermont Tonnerre having ascended the highest peak of the island of Ossero, discovered the English ships. One of the two brigs had sailed and came to cruise off the entrance of the Cavanella. We set sail during the night, crossed the Quarnaro, without being perceived by the brig, and reached in the morning a small creek at the southern point of Istria. It would have been dangerous to double this point in sight of the brig, we therefore brought our vessel to the further end of the creek, landed the howitzer, and stationed a small post to defend the vessel in case she should be discovered. I landed with my aide-de-camp, my guide Bernardini, and a servant; we procured horses and proceeded by land to Pola, to which place Giacomo brought the brassera during the following night.

I visited the magnificent port of Pola, and the antiquities of that ancient and beautiful city, the most remarkable of which is the marble amphitheatre, which is in more perfect preservation than any other in Italy. On the following day I went to the forest of Montona, from which the Venetians obtained their timber, and which might still be used for the same purpose with great advantage. I then proceeded to Capo d'Istra, where a French post and a commandant were already stationed. Here I received, together with the despatches of General Lauriston, another notice of my mission to the kingdom of Naples. Returning through Trieste I hastened by land to Venice, not to run the risk of the delay to which I might be exposed by going by sea.

General Lauriston had received orders to repair to Istria and Dalmatia, and to continue the operations which I had begun. At Venice I stopped with that General no longer than was necessary to put my papers in order. I was obliged to draw up in haste, from my notes which had been collected too rapidly, the memoir which I sent direct to the Emperor, to give him an account of my mission. This

memoir, which was pretty voluminous, comprehended, in the first place, descriptive details, the result of the reconnoissances which I had made in person, and of the particulars which had been given me by the authorities of the country, and by the persons who seemed to be the best acquainted with the places which I had not had either the time or the means to visit. I added the best maps which could be procured either on the spot or in Venice;

Secondly, general views on the defence of the frontiers and of the coast;

Thirdly, a view of the civil condition of these provinces, with respect to the administration, pointing out the several ameliorations which might be gradually introduced. Imperfect as this memoir was, it at least bore testimony to the zeal and activity which had been employed in preparing the elements on which it was founded. The Emperor signified his approbation through the Prince Viceroy.

Before leaving Venice I had the pleasure of meeting my old and excellent friend M. Delagarde, who had just been sent there as commissary-general of the police. It would not have been possible to make a better choice, or one more useful to the government of these newly-conquered countries.

I followed the course of the canal on this side the Lido, ascended the Po as far as Ferrara, whence I took the road to Bologna, Florence, and Rome.

At the residence of M. Alquier, our ambassador, formerly a member of the Constituent Assembly, with whom I had been much connected at the commencement of the Revolution, I learned all the particulars of the entrance of the French army into the kingdom of Naples, under the command of Prince Joseph and Marshal Masséna. M. Alquier spoke of the fresh differences between the Emperor Napoleon and the Pope, and the embarrassing situation in which he was placed. He took me to Cardinal Fesch, who complained bitterly of the extravagant demands of the Emperor. "It is impossible," said he, "for the Pope voluntarily to submit to them; to negotiate on such a basis is out of the question. If my nephew intends to have here only a bishop of Rome, he must send a general and troops." This was in fact done soon afterwards. I also visited Prince Lucien, who was equally dissatisfied, but bore his disgrace with much philosophy. He gave me despatches for his brother, Prince Joseph.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrival at Naples—Establishment of the government of Prince Joseph—My appointment as minister of war—Journey to Calabria—Elevation of Prince Joseph to the throne of the Two Sicilies—Deputation from the French Senate—Public entry into Naples—Refusal of Cardinal Ruffo, Archbishop of Naples, to take the oath—Capture of Capri by the English—Organisation of the army—Proceedings of the government—Insurrection of Calabria—The siege of Gaeta—Submission of the insurgents—Journey to Paris—Death of Madame Dumas—Return to Naples—Salicetti appointed minister of war—My appointment as Marshal of the palace—Marriage of my second daughter—Prince Joseph called to the throne of Spain—Departure from Naples to Spain—Stay at Montpellier.

After too short a stay at Rome, I hastened to repair to Naples, where I was received by the Prince with every mark of kindness. I had stopped for some hours at Mola, before the fortress of Gaeta, which was then blockaded, the Prince of Hesse Phillipstadt, the governor, having been in vain summoned to surrender. Prince Joseph, who was destined to govern the kingdom of Naples, had brought with him his master of the horse, my friend Stanislaus Girardin, Miot, my colleague in the council of state, Colonel Clary, his nephew and aide-de-camp, and M. Ferri Pisani, his private secretary. He had made an excellent choice of his captains of the guards: those offices which were of such importance under the circumstances in which we were placed, were confided to two of the most distinguished Lieutenant-Generals of the French army, General Maurice Mathieu, and General Saligny, who were personally attached to the King by the closest ties, having married two of his nieces.

Immediately on his arrival, he had given to M. Miot the direction of the war department, which was at that time the most important post. He afterwards composed the ministry in the following manner; partly of Frenchmen, partly of Neapolitans. Miot had the department of the interior, and I that of war; Salicetti the general police and provisionally the finance department, till the arrival of the Senator Rœderer; the Duke de Campo Chiaro, the household; the Duke de Gallo, foreign affairs; the Duke de Cassano,

ecclesiastical affairs; the celebrated Judge Cianciulli, the department of justice; Count Pignatelli, the navy, and the famous Advocate Ricciardi, the post of secretary of state. Each of the ministers immediately set about organising his own department; my task was not the lightest, as I had to unravel the chaos of the ruins of the old disorganised Neapolitan army, and to provide for the subsistence of the French army, which amounted to forty-two thousand men.

We had scarcely begun to instal ourselves, when Prince Joseph resolved to visit the Calabrias which the Prince Royal of Naples had just evacuated, and the submission of which had been completed by General Reynier. Girardin, Miot, and myself were chosen by Prince Joseph to accompany him on this journey, with his nephew, Colonel Clary, and his secretary, Ferri Pisani. General Lamarque took the command of the escort, consisting of only four companies of voltigeurs of the royal guard, which had just been formed of picked men, taken from the several French regiments. We spent five weeks on this interesting journey, which was attended with much danger on account of the character of the inhabitants, whose recent submission was still very precarious.

If I did not fear to swell these memoirs beyond their due limits, I would give here a brief account of this journey; I would describe the half-barbarous manners of the inhabitants of this country; their fickleness, their fanaticism, and the exaggerated expression of their devotedness to the new sovereign. The population of whole districts, headed by their priests, came to meet us; many wearing crowns of thorns in token of repentance, and violently beating their breasts, accompanied, or rather dragged, us to the church amidst the most vehement acclamations. I shall, therefore, not give a description of this country, which is a continuation of the great chain of the Appenines, nor of the beautiful valleys which it contains.

We took at first the fine road, made under the reign of Charles III., which terminated at Lago Negro, and has since been continued to the extremity of Calabria Ultra. The first place at which we stopped was Cassano, a small town, built on the same spot as the ancient Sybaris. Thence we proceeded to Cosenza, the capital of Calabria Citra, where Prince Joseph was welcomed as a deliverer. We then entered the defiles between the mountain and the great

forest of La Sila, and the coast, bordered by the escarpments of the counterforts, which are joined to the most elevated summits. We met with no serious obstacle; the dispersed bands of robbers concealed themselves, or fled before us. Descending from Mount Mileto to the sea-shore, we had before us the magnificent view of the coasts of Sicily crowned by the gigantic Etna. Thus we arrived at the fort of Sila, situated on the strait, opposite Messina, molested merely by the fire of some English gun-boats, when the only practicable road forced us to approach the shore.

At Sila, Prince Joseph received the imperial decree which raised him to the throne of the Two Sicilies, and was, for the first time, saluted as King by General Reynier and his troops, who received us at Sila. We went to Reggio, from which the acclamations of the inhabitants, the salutes of the artillery, and the illuminations might be heard and seen from the port of Messina.

Up to this point we had scarcely quitted the coast of the Tyrrhenian sea, and then, leaving Cape Spartiventi, the extremity of Calabria Ultra, we proceeded along the coast of the Adriatic. We quitted it only to visit Catanzaro the most considerable town of this province, where I had great pleasure in meeting with General Franceschi Delonne, who had been raised to that rank on the field of battle at Austerlitz. He was particularly well received by the King, who appointed him his first aide-de-camp. From Catanzaro we went to Cotrona, on the coast of the Adriatic, along which we proceeded, examining the principal points of defence as far as Taranto, where we visited the fine works begun by Marshal Soult, for the defence of the road, and which the King caused to be continued. As we passed through these countries, the territories of the ancient Greek colonies, we did not forget to look (not for the ruins, for there are scarcely any on this whole coast, but, at least,) for the vestiges of cities formerly so flourishing, such as Cotrona, Brundisium, Metapontum, &c. My learned friend and colleague Miot was an excellent cicerone, and King Joseph, a highly informed man, was greatly interested in these historical reminiscences. We returned through the Capitanata and Apulia, and after stopping for some time at Foggia, we arrived at the magnificent Palace of Caserta, where King Joseph received the deputation of the French Senate, which came to compliment him on his accession.

It was composed of the following senators; Jaucourt, his principal chamberlain, who remained with him to exercise his functions; Rœderer, whom he also kept, and made minister of finance; General Ferino and Marshal Jourdan, whom the Emperor had appointed governor of Naples.

The deputations from the city of Naples, and the different authorities waited on the King at Caserta. The public entry took place two days afterwards, on the 11th of April, 1806. We alighted at the church of the Holy Ghost, where the King was received by Cardinal Ruffo, Archbishop of Naples. We observed that after the *Te Deum* and the *Salve fac Regem*, the Archbishop avoided mentioning the King's name, and a few days afterwards, when he came, with the other authorities, to take individually the oath of allegiance to the King, he himself declared to his Majesty that his conscience would not permit him to do so.

An untoward event disturbed the fête of the King's entry: on the same night, while the city was illuminated, the English attacked and took the Isle of Capri, at the opening of the Bay of Naples.

I devoted myself with all the zeal in my power to the organisation of the war department. The King assigned the Acton Palace for the offices of the department of war, the interior, and the navy. He formed a council of state, where he always presided in person, and at which we were all bound to attend regularly, independently of the frequent councils of ministers. I began to organise the Neapolitan army; first of all, I formed four regiments of infantry, each consisting of two batalions, and two regiments of light cavalry. In each province, too, I formed a provincial regiment, the command of which was given to the eldest sons of the principal nobles. To destine the *Primogeniti* to the career of arms was a thing till then unheard of, and this innovation encountered at the beginning many obstacles, which did not deter the King from persisting in his resolution, and his efforts to restore the military spirit, and the honour of the profession of arms.

I caused the operations relative to the engineering department and the artillery to be resumed in the arsenals and manufactories of arms. The military school was re-established under the direction of General Parisi; I organised the military administration, applying in this, as in all

other branches, the French regulations. Under the denominations of military intendants and sub-intendants, I united the functions of inspectors of reviews and commissaries of war, an institution which has since been imitated in France. My principal secretary, Combes, whom I had induced to come to Naples, seconded me with all the zeal of friendship; my brother Saint Fulcrand likewise came to me, and was employed first in the commissariat, and afterwards in the administration of the royal domains in Apulia. Alexander Romœuf, brother of my friend Colonel Romœuf, of whom I have already spoken, likewise came and joined me at Naples. He had retired from the sevice some time before; I induced him to enter that of Naples with the rank he held in the French cavalry, and made him my aide-de-camp. I likewise took two Neapolitan aide-de-camps, both of them very distinguished officers, who by many brilliant actions in the sequel justified my choice of them; one of them, Captain Filangieri, now lieutenant-general, son of the celebrated civilian, had been educated in France in the Prytaneum, had been placed in the seventeenth regiment of infantry of the line, and distinguished himself at the battle of Austerlitz; the other, Captain Ambrosio, had begun his military career in the Austrian army, and was a very intelligent, well-informed, and active officer.

The other ministers, my colleagues, seconded with equal zeal, and several of them with more success, the views and exertions of the King for the regeneration of the country. Miot introduced order into the lower branches of the administration, encouraged commerce, opened the principal communications, and all the sources of industry, which were too much neglected in these countries, to which nature has been so bountiful. He established schools, and revived a taste for literature and the arts. Rœderer suppressed the *Arrendamenti*, or the custom of farming several taxes. He introduced a great book of the public debt, regulated the operations of the bank, relieved the finances from burdensome and usurious interest, by repayments in the public funds; he introduced a good system of custom-house duties, a better apportioning of the taxes, and a less expensive mode of collecting them; he thus increased by one-fifth the revenues of the state and those of the domains of the crown. Salicetti kept the Lazzaroni in awe by a severe and equitable system of police; he put an end to the

abuses of the police committed by the Sbiri of the nobles, and instead of these agents of arbitrary authority, instituted national gendarmes. He caused a great number of convents to be suppressed, and cleared the city of Naples of the swarm of monks of all denominations who encouraged the idleness of the Lazzaroni.

King Joseph, whom careless observers and malevolent authors have thought fit to represent as a prince almost wholly devoted to his pleasures, was the soul of all these improvements; he carefully attended to all the details, discoursed, in his council of state, on the several questions before it, with much knowledge and precision, and displayed great consistency and firmness in executing the measures that had been resolved upon.

The court of Palermo saw with vexation the progress of the establishment of the French in the kingdom of Naples; the success of the new institutions and the entire submission of the provinces of the Terra Firma increased more and more the irritation of Queen Caroline, whose animosity had occasioned the war. While she urged the English generals to undertake offensive operations, she neglected no means of agitating the provinces by her secret agents. She hired chiefs of banditti, who soon infested the roads, up to the very gates of the capital. Admiral Sydney Smith was extremely active; he alarmed the coasts of Calabria and protected the landing of the Sicilian brigands, who joined those of the interior. Soon afterwards General Stuart landed in the gulf of Saint Euphemia, with a corps of five or six thousand men, and defeated General Reynier, who had hastily assembled the troops of his division. This was the signal for the insurrection of the Calabrians. Marshal Massena marched to Calabria with two divisions, while General Reynier, who had retreated to Cassano, re-entered Calabria Alta, and compelled General Stuart to evacuate that province for the second time, and retire to Sicily.

This diversion had delayed the siege of Gaeta. The Prince of Hesse Phillipstadt prepared to make the most determined resistance. He was supported by the English squadron stationed on the coast. He had a garrison of six or seven thousand men, a formidable artillery, and having the sea open could not fail of receiving supplies. As soon as the English had evacuated the Calabrias, and General

Gouvion St. Cyr had completed the submission of the Abruzzi by taking Civitella del Tronto, King Joseph caused Gaeta to be closely invested, reinforced the corps of troops destined for the siege, and recalled from Calabria Ultra Marshal Massena, who was to take the command of the siege. I was much engaged in collecting and forwarding to this point, the artillery, ammunition, and provisions, necessary for pushing the siege with vigour. I accompanied the King on his personal inspection of the works, which were already advanced to the second parallel, as far as Monte Secco. The brave General Vallongue, one of the most distinguished officers of the corps of engineers, had just been killed; and General Campredon, commander-in-chief of the engineers of the army, directed the operations in person.

No return was to be made to the continual fire of the place till all the batteries should be mounted. Marshal Massena having fixed the day for opening the fire, about a hundred pieces of artillery battered the place without interruption till the breaches were deemed practicable. My aide-de-camp Clermont Tonnere, who was an officer of the artillery, asked to be employed in the siege, and Marshal Massena gave him the command of one of the principal batteries. He behaved with great bravery and skill; after the reduction of Gaeta, the King gave him a captain's commission in the artillery of his guard, and soon afterwards made him one of his aide-de-camps.

In the *Précis des Evénemens Militaires* I have given the most circumstantial details of this memorable siege. The taking of this fortress strengthened the King's government and allayed the insurrections; but it was necessary to pursue the bands of brigands; detachments of voltiguers, and especially the Corsican battalion, were successfully employed in this service under the command of Colonel Hugo.

Marshal Massena went with part of the army to Calabria, and fixed his head-quarters at Cosenza, where, however, he remained but a short time, being called away by the Emperor to command the fifth corps of the grand army in Poland.

The hatred and activity of Queen Caroline continued to increase; she strengthened the bands of brigands: the life of King Joseph was several times threatened; his confidence

and his desire to obtain popularity, frequently exposed him to the risk of falling into the snares that were laid for him. The activity and ability of the minister of police, Salicetti, preserved him from these dangers; several conspiracies were discovered; one of the most active agents of these machinations was the same Sir Hudson Lowe who afterwards became so famous by his unworthy conduct towards the illustrious prisoner of St. Helena. At that time he commanded the island of Capri, which had become the focus of this kind of dishonourable warfare. The condemnation of several chiefs who were seized in Naples or the environs, among others of the Marquis de Palmieri, and of Fra Diavolo, checked the audacity of these brigands; several laid down their arms and obtained pardon. Salicetti became the object of the hatred and the vengeance of our enemies. They succeeded in making in the hotel in which he resided a real mine, a hollow globe loaded with a great quantity of powder and fixed to the ceiling of a shop, under a drawing-room which the minister had to pass through to go to his bed-chamber. A match was put to it at the moment that he was retiring to rest; above two-thirds of the house were blown up by this explosion. His daughter and his son-in-law the Marquis de Torella were buried under the ruins, but were happily saved by a portion of the flooring remaining in an inclined position over their bed. Salicetti escaped, because instead of stopping in the drawing-room to give orders, as he generally did, he passed rapidly through it.

No other remarkable event occurred during the remainder of the campaign. General Maurice Mathieu, one of the commanders of the royal guard, was sent by the King to the head-quarters of the Emperor in Poland, to give him an account of the state of affairs in the kingdom of Naples. General Cesar Berthier, chief of the staff of the French army in Naples, a brother of the Prince of Neuchatel, major-general of the French army, was likewise sent to Poland. I delivered to him by the King's order, a detailed report of every particular relative to the war department. Our establishment in the kingdom of Naples became every day more and more firmly consolidated. The Emperor had advised his brother to cause a plan for the defence of the city of Naples, in case it should be attacked by a superior force, to be drawn up and presented

to him. General Campredon had the chief part in the execution of this work, in which I concurred by various reconnaissances which we made under the eyes of the King.

As it was probable after the successes of the grand army in Poland, that when peace should be concluded on the continent, the recognition of the new King of Naples by the powers would fix, at least for a long time to come, the fortunes of the individuals attached to his fortune, I ardently desired to have my wife and children with me. I saw by my wife's letters that her health was much debilitated, and that she was even seriously in danger of inflammation of the chest. The fine climate of Naples could not fail to be favourable to her, but she was very reluctant to quit Paris, and part from my eldest daughter Madame de Saint Didier. My endeavours to persuade her to take this step were fruitless. The symptoms of the disorder became more alarming at the beginning of 1807, and in the month of February I was informed that she was becoming rapidly worse, and that she wished to see me. The King granted me leave of absence to go to Paris; I did not stop a single moment, and performed the journey in a week. At the last stage I met my brother-in-law Delarue; I trembled when I embraced him lest he should have come to announce to me a fatal piece of intelligence, but he only wished to prepare me to find my excellent Julia nearly in a hopeless condition. What an interview was ours! She expected me, and did not in any way deceive herself respecting the state she was in. She received me with a placid smile, and made a great effort to conceal her sufferings. My two daughters were with her. Her apartment was in the nicest order, and had I not known the fatal secret I might have persuaded myself that she was much less ill, and almost convalescent.

I passed a fortnight in that cruel state of suspense which is peculiar to the last moments of this frightful malady; my poor Julia sometimes partook in a transitory illusion; she said that she regretted not having gone to join me at Naples, and spoke to me of the details of her approaching journey. During this last struggle of nature against rapid and inevitable destruction, she retained the most perfect serenity. The fatal moment arrived on the 26th of March, 1807; she expired, or rather went off without pain, holding out her hand to me, blessing her children, and with her last look bidding me farewell.

After this cruel separation, and when I had a little recovered from the effect of these heart-rending scenes, I resolved to take with me to Naples my daughter Octavia, then in her eighteenth year, and my son, who was seven years old. During my residence at Naples I had met with and noticed a M. de Pomard, a young man of great hopes, auditor to the council of state, and descended from a respectable family of the ancient magistracy. His mother, a widow, who afterwards married the celebrated astronomer, M. Delambre, was very intimate with my eldest daughter Madame de Saint Didier, who communicated to her and obtained her approval of my desire to marry her sister to M. de Pomard. This hope was a great comfort to me; for this young man, with a very agreeable person, possessed all the qualities of the mind and heart that could ensure the happiness of my daughter. Alas! this hope was frustrated; for on my return to Naples, a few days after I had presented him to my daughter, he was suddenly seized with a malignant brain fever, and expired in my arms. I regretted him as a son, and his unfortunate mother was inconsolable.

After the blow which had just afflicted my family, its dispersion, and the separation of two sisters who had never quitted each other, deeply grieved me. I could scarcely tear myself from the arms of my dear Cornelia. My journey to return to my post was as rapid as that from Naples to Paris had been. In passing over Mount Cenis I was overtaken by a horrible storm. My carriage had been taken to pieces; my daughter and two maid-servants preceded me in a sledge. I followed close behind in mine, holding my son in my arms, but the wind was so violent, and the snow whirled about in such thick clouds, that no trace of the road could be seen. Night was approaching. I had lost sight of my daughter's sledge; we were to stop at the hospital, but passed by without perceiving it. In my long career I have doubtless encountered greater dangers, but none ever caused me such anxiety. The fine climate and beautiful plains of Italy soon made us forget this little accident. I stopped only a few hours at Alexandria, where I visited the citadel and the immense works which the Emperor was causing to be executed there, with great activity. I here met with the Neapolitan troops; that is to say, the brigands taken with arms in their hands, and whom

I had caused to be formed into regiments at Capua. King Joseph had got rid of them by sending them to Mantua, where the viceroy employed them in working at the fortifications; but the Emperor had disapproved this measure, and caused them to be employed on the works at Alexandria, where General Despinois kept them under the strictest discipline. They were afterwards sent with two regiments of Neapolitan light horse to the army in Catalonia.

I proceeded on my journey, and did not stop till I arrived at Rome, where I found a despatch from the King, informing me that he had thought fit to confide the war department to Salicetti, and that, to place me nearer to his person, he had appointed me High Marshal of the Palace. I could not but be flattered by the motives for this measure; and I was not astonished that Salicetti, to get rid of the disgusting details of the police, and to increase his influence in public affairs, should have taken advantage of my absence, to persuade the King, that by placing in his hands the disposal of the armed force and of the principal employment of the money of the state, he would have more means to act on the public mind by the distribution of employment, without ceasing on that account to exercise the vigilant superintendence, which he had rendered very useful to the maintenance of public tranquillity and the safety of the King's person. He had caused the function of director of the police to be delegated to the Duke de Lorenzano, who exercised them under his eyes, and according to his counsels. We got attached to our works, and I confess that I felt some vexation, that after having worked hard to organise the new Neapolitan army, and all the parts of military administration, I should see the portfolio of the war-department taken from me, and transferred to hands less used to operations of this kind, and from considerations quite foreign to their real object.

The very kind reception which the King gave me on my return to Naples did not leave me even an idea that he had thought of giving me the slightest vexation. He explained to me himself the motives which had induced him to confide the war department to Salicetti. He seemed satisfied, and considered my having brought the greater part of my family to Naples as a proof of my devotedness and attachment to his person.

I entered on my functions as High Marshal of the palace.

The King required at first that I should live in the palace; but considering the presence of my daughter, and my paternal duties, he approved of my continuing to reside in the Acton palace with my family. From that time I had no official occupation except about the affairs of the King's household; I accompanied him in his journeys in the Abruzzi, the Cilento, and other excursions.

The King was extremely desirous that the French about his person should contract alliances with the Neapolitan families; he knew that since the death of young Pomard I had received and rejected several offers of marriage for my daughter; he proposed to me to marry her to the young Prince Colona, son of the Prince of Stagliano, and brother to the Duchess of Atri; he had a great regard for that family, and pointed out to me the signal advantages of this alliance. I resisted these obliging proposals of the King, and my sweet Octavia was also averse to this entire expatriation, which would have separated her from her sister.

Towards the end of the year 1807, General Franceschi Delonne being appointed, as I have already mentioned, first aide-de-camp to the King, was recalled from Calabria Ultra where he commanded, to come and enter on his functions. My esteem for this brave officer, and the just opinion which I entertained that his military talents and his superior understanding could not fail to raise his fortune, made me resolve to give him my daughter. I anticipated his suit, which it was easy to foresee; his rare and amiable qualities had caused him to be distinguished by her; and when I spoke to her on the subject, I found that her good judgment had prepared her consent to my desires. The King approved of this union, and facilitated it by the favours he bestowed on General Franceschi Delonne. The Queen also had joined the King at Naples some time before, and as soon as her health permitted, appointed my daughter one of her ladies of honour. This marriage, from which I promised myself so much domestic happiness, was celebrated in the month of February, 1808, in the chapel of the Palace at Portici.

But a few months of this happy union had passed away, when new events intervened and changed our destinies. King Joseph was called by the Emperor to the throne of Spain. At first he hesitated; he would willingly have remained at Naples. His real friends, his most faithful ser-

vants, especially Girardin, his master of the horse, advised him not to precipitate himself into the sanguinary revolutions, which, it was easy to foresee, would attend the establishment of a new dynasty in Spain; but he thought that his duty to his brother required him to sacrifice his personal preferences and his affections. Perhaps, too, the desire of governing a great state, and raising himself to the rank of the greatest sovereigns in Europe, rendered this sacrifice less painful. But he was soon to know the full extent of this sacrifice, and feel all its weight.

He left Naples at the end of May, 1808, taking with him the sincere regret of the nation; he was accompanied by the two captains of his guards, Generals Salligny and Maurice Mathieu, by Girardin, Miot, his minister of the interior, and his two aide-de-camps, Generals Merlin and Franceschi. He directed me to conduct the Queen and the two young princesses his daughters to France, after having put in order all the affairs of the palace. He ordered me to have inventories made of all that he left behind, and especially of the fine collection of paintings of the Farnese Gallery, which the Emperor had given him, and which had been brought from Rome to Naples; he took away only one picture, the Venus by Titian.

I left Naples in the course of July with my daughter and my son, preceding the Queen at a short distance. It was with much regret that I parted with my brother, to whom Rœderer had given an appointment in the finance department, and from my cousin Combes, who had been made post-master-general when I left the war department. At Rome I stopped only twenty-four hours to wait for the Queen, and to give my daughter Octavia a slight idea of the principal monuments of the arts. I paid a visit to the celebrated Canova in his vast and interesting atelier. He had been at Naples a short time before to form his own judgment of the situation intended for the equestrian statue of Napoleon, which we saw already almost finished in his atelier.

Leaving Rome, we took the road to Furlo, and visited the beautiful cascade of Terni. We arrived at Lyons on the 1st of July; the Queen alighted at the residence of Cardinal Fesch, who on leaving Rome had retired to his archbishopric. Meeting there with her sister-in-law the Princess Borghese, she stopped, and permitted me to proceed on my

journey to join the Emperor, and afterwards to repair to the King of Spain.

My daughter, Madame Franceschi, had resolved to follow her husband into Spain; it would have been impossible for me to dissuade her from this step. We stopped only one day at Montpellier. It was a great pleasure to me again to see my native city, where I had passed but a few moments eighteen years before, when I was sent with a commission to quiet the disturbances in the southern provinces. I had the satisfaction to embrace my sister, Saint Madeleine, and to present my daughter to her. The sight of the places which had witnessed the amusements of my childhood, and of the pure and lively pleasure of my early youth, filled me with inexpressible joy. In the course of my long career, and since my departure to join the regiment of Madoc in 1773, I have visited the place of my birth only five times, and always *en passant*, namely, during three months' furlough in 1774; a week when I crossed France to embark at Toulon in 1783; another week on my return from the Levant; twenty-four hours in returning from Montauban, and one day this last time. I also passed through Montpellier, as I shall mention in the sequel, on my return from Spain, but I was not able to stop more than a few hours, on account of the general inspection with which I was entrusted.

I alighted at the entrance of the city; it seemed to me as I passed through it, as if I had not ceased to inhabit it; all the objects that I saw, every step, every place, awakened in my memory a crowd of recollections. I went to see my good sister, whom I found in the same house and in the same apartment in which she had closed our father's eyes. I presented my niece, with whom she was charmed, and it was certainly one of the happiest moments of my life. After the suppression of the Ursuline convent of St. Charles, of which she was the superior, my sister lived in a peaceful retreat, which I endeavoured to render agreeable to her, till I had the misfortune to be deprived of her by death.

CHAPTER VII.

Audience of the Emperor at Toulouse—Entrance into Spain—Position of the armies—Mission to the Emperor—Audience at St. Cloud—Stay at Paris—Return to Spain—Combat of Burgos—Battle of Espinosa—General position of the army—Expression of the Emperor respecting the war in Spain—Mission to Burgos—Change of the direction of the troops of the army of Portugal—Mission to Madrid—Storm on the Somo-Sierra—State of affairs—March to Valladolid—Aggression of Austria—Speech of the Emperor on the parade at Valladolid—Mission to France—Departure of the Emperor for France.

The happiness of being united with one of my children to the remains of my family appeared to me to be very short. It was with regret I quitted objects so dear, but I could not suffer myself to be detained any longer; it was a matter of great importance to me to present myself as soon as possible to the Emperor, in order to fix my new position, and my daughter was impatient to join her husband before the opening of the campaign. Having learned on the road that the Emperor and Empress had already left Bayonne and had just arrived at Toulouse, I proceeded with all possible speed, and as soon as I arrived at Toulouse, asked and obtained a private audience of the Emperor.

"Whence do you come, General Dumas?" said he.

"From Naples, Sire, whither your Majesty had sent me to the King your brother."

"Well—why have you quitted your post? It was expedient for me that you should remain there. What are you come to do in France? You are in the service of a foreign prince. It is precisely because I send Murat to Naples that the French employed in that service should remain there."

"Sire," I replied, "I could not but consider my mission as ended, since the King was going to Spain, and that his order was sufficient for me to return to France. I cannot have lost my quality as a French citizen. I was employed as general of division in the army of Naples, under the orders of the King, who commanded the French army. My name has always been on the list, and I could not but con-

sider the employments confided to me as temporary. I beg your Majesty to employ me in the army of Spain, and if you think that I have lost rank as general of division in the service of France, and my place and title as counsellor of state, I hope you will permit me, at least, to recommence a career which is nearly completed, and to serve the King of Spain as a volunteer; the rank of corporal is sufficiently honourable; your Majesty has caused it to be coveted by the first generals in Europe."

He smiled, and added:

"Well and good: tell Berthier from me to make out your commission as general of division in the army in Spain, and go and join my brother."

He then asked me many questions respecting the kingdom of Naples. "Murat," said he, "suits me better than Joseph; I have found it necessary to call the latter to the throne of Spain; the old dynasty is worn out; I must reconstruct the work of Louis XIV."

He then entered into some details of what had passed at Bayonne, with respect to the late events at Madrid.

"The illness of Murat," said he, "is most unfortunate: however, he is recovering; all will be repaired.' Then returning to the affairs of Naples,

"Salicetti," said he, "asks me in the letter which you have delivered to me, to let him return to France. He must remain at Naples; he ought to think himself but too happy where he is. What has he done there? He has kept the Lazzaroni in awe! I have no doubt of it; he has frightened them; he is more malicious than they. Let him know that I have not the power to protect against contempt and public indignation, the wretches who voted the death of Louis XVI."

Many of the Emperor's conversations have been recorded; this is not the least extraordinary.

After having passed three days at Bayonne, and presented my daughter to the Empress, as one of the ladies of honour to the Queen of Spain; after being present at a splendid fête, where my dear Octavia was much admired, and where I saw her shine, alas! for the last time, we set out for Bayonne, passing through Tarbes and Pau. I admired that fine country, through which I had never before travelled.

I could no longer think of taking my daughter to Spain;

all that I had learnt at Toulouse, the accounts which I received from Bayonne, and the letters which Franceschi himself wrote to his wife would not permit me to doubt of the critical posture of affairs, and of the embarrassment in which King Joseph found himself at Madrid. The unfortunate affair of Baylen, and that of Valencia, had changed in a few days the situation of the French army, had encouraged the national and anti-French party, and disconcerted the plans of the Emperor, who was still ignorant of these fatal events. The reports spread at Bayonne made me resolve to set out immediately to join the King. I endeavoured to persuade my daughter to return to Paris to her sister; but all that I could prevail upon her to do, was to remain on the frontiers, where she might more easily receive news from her husband. I placed her in a country house, pleasantly situated between the town and the chateau of Marac, the head-quarters of the Emperor. Mr. Deheralde, the landlord of the house, was a worthy old gentleman, living in very good style; he let us very comfortable apartments, and I left my daughter with her attendants in this solitude, where in the state of her mind and health, she was better than in a palace.

As I was passing the long defile of Navarre and Biscay, which was afterwards so fatal to us, I met, near Tolosa, the Duke of Rovigo, who was returning with all speed from Madrid, and had some difficulty in passing through Vittoria, where the people had risen and vehemently demanded the return of King Ferdinand; he informed me of the defeat of the corps of General Dupont, of the precipitate retreat of that of Marshal Moncey, and the evacuation of Madrid by King Joseph. Some hours afterwards, at the foot of the mountain of Las Salinas, a little before I came to Vittoria, I met M. de Villoutrays, one of the Emperor's orderly officers, who was going express to carry to the Emperor the melancholy details of the capitulation of General Dupont.

On the following day I arrived at Burgos, almost at the same time as King Joseph. Marshal Bessières, who a few days before had beaten and dispersed a Spanish corps at Medina del Rio Seco, had his head-quarters at Burgos; my son-in-law, the brave General Franceschi, had formed, with General Merlin, the King's vanguard, and arrived in the city on the same day. It was decided that the French troops which had evacuated Madrid, and had not been able

to take a defensive position on the Douro, without exposing themselves to have their communication with France cut off, should retire to this side of the Ebro; that we should keep Burgos, as well as the fort and the defiles of Pancorvo, and wait, in these positions, for the new arrangements of the Emperor.

The King stopped two days at Burgos, where, in concert with Marshal Bessières, he determined all the measures which the circumstances required; he then with his staff, the principal officers of his household, the Spanish ministers who had followed him, General O'Farill the minister of war, &c. went to Miranda, on the left bank of the Ebro, where he fixed his head-quarters.

I rejoined the King at Miranda. After he had made his first arrangements for the establishment of the troops, he confided to me the very delicate mission to carry his despatches to the Emperor, and to give him a detailed account of the circumstances and motives, which had been the ground of his retreat to this side of the Ebro. He permitted my son-in-law to accompany me to Bayonne; Franceschi set out before me, making all possible haste, to have a few hours more to pass with his wife, while I was receiving the final instructions of the King. I joined him again at the little country-house, where I could stop only a very short time; with great difficulty we prevailed on my daughter to return with me to Paris. Franceschi accompanied us to the second stage; it was a cruel separation. Franceschi returned to Bayonne, tearing himself from his wife, who fainted in my arms; she was quite inconsolab and gave way to the most gloomy forebodings; she co tinually repeated, bursting into tears, "I shall never see hi again."

I did not stop a moment till I arrived at Versailles, and, while my daughter went to my house, I proceeded to Saint Cloud. Having sent in my name to the Emperor, I was immediately admitted. I had scarcely entered the saloon, when His Majesty coming out of his cabinet advanced towards me with a gloomy countenance; "Well, General," (said he, taking the despatch which I had brought and which he opened, and glanced over rapidly,) "you bring me fine news. Will you tell me why the King of Spain could not find a safe position except behind the Ebro? Was he so

closely pressed that he could not stop on the Douro? To repass the two rivers is evacuating Spain."

"Your Majesty," I replied, "is not ignorant of the progress of the insurrection; the small force which the King had at his disposal; the nature of the country between the Douro and the Ebro; the difficulty of maintaining such a long line of communication which the guerillas formed in the chain of mountains of Soria and in Aragon would not have failed to intercept. The King thought that under such circumstances it was prudent to concentrate his forces in a good position, on the left bank of the Ebro, in advance of the defiles of Biscay, and there wait for fresh orders from your Majesty."

"Very well! I see that every body has lost his wits since the infamous capitulation of Baylen." And saying this, he laid hold of the facing of my coat, and shaking it violently, added in a tone of concentrated anger, "this coat must be washed in blood." He walked up and down with hasty strides, and then, with more composure, asked me several questions respecting the situation of the army. "I see very well," said he, "that I must return myself, and set the machine in motion again. You will accompany me; go, take some rest, and tell the Prince of Neuchatel that he is to make out your commission as aid-major-general, and the same for General Belliard; you will be employed in the same manner as in the campaign of Austerlitz."

Happy in the bosom of my family at Paris, I waited for my instructions, which were not sent to me till a month afterwards, when the Emperor was on the point of setting out for Spain. In the society of my children and my worthy father-in-law I should have fully enjoyed these short moments of happiness, had they not been alloyed by the affliction of my daughter Octavia, which nothing could dispel. My eldest daughter, Madame de Saint Didier, who acted the part of a mother to her young brother, had placed him, as we had agreed, in the institution of Saint Barbe; this ancient, highly reputed college had been re-established by the learned and worthy M. Delanneau, who was a perfect model of a good tutor, and one of those who have the most contributed to the restoration of public instruction in France, which had been almost entirely neglected after the counter-revolution of 1793.

During my stay at Paris I learnt that a report had been

spread that King Joseph had caused the finest pictures of the Farnese Gallery, the most valuable articles in the Museum, and the costly furniture of the palace of Naples, to be taken to Spain. I waited on the new Queen of Naples, Madame Murat, and showed her the inventory which I had drawn up, assuring her from the King and Queen of Spain, that King Joachim, when he arrived at Naples, would find in the palace and the other royal residences every thing in perfect order, and conformable to the inventory, a duplicate of which I had left in the hands of the intendant of the palace.

The Emperor having set out to proceed with the greatest speed to Spain, I followed him as closely as possible. I stopped but a few hours on the other side of Bayonne, at the country-house which I have before mentioned, where my horses and carriages had arrived from Naples a few days before. His Majesty had caused numerous re-inforcements to enter Spain, and given a new organisation to the grand army, of which he was going to take the command in person. The imperial head-quarters were at Vittoria, to which city I accordingly proceeded. I was accompanied by Captain Labarthe, a cavalry officer in the Spanish service, for whom I had obtained the appointment of my aide-de-camp. He was the son of an old officer in the regiment of Medoc, and had emigrated with his father when he was very young. He had attended King Joseph to Burgos, and as he spoke the Spanish language perfectly, I was glad of his services.

Having learnt at Irun, on the frontier of Spain, that the campaign had opened, and that the Emperor with the corps of Marshal Soult and the reserve of the guard was already on his march to Burgos, I left my equipages and rode post, taking with me only Labarthe, my aide-de-camp, my secretary Perotte, and Felix, my valet-de-chambre. We travelled the sixty leagues from Irun to Burgos without stopping, and in a very disagreeable manner, with post-horses and mules which were extremely fatigued. It was not till midnight the following day that I reached Burgos, which the Emperor had entered on the same day after a pretty smart action, in which the Spanish corps that occupied the castle and the position of Burgos had been repulsed; and the road leading to the city was strewed with the dead.

During this day, the most fatiguing that I ever suffered, I heard a heavy cannonade on my right hand beyond the de-

file and the heights of Pancorvo; it was the army of General Blake, which was retreating, and was hotly pursued by the corps of Marshal Lefebvre. Some Spanish parties which escaped from the army of Blake, crossed the road by which we were travelling, and we were very lucky in not falling into their hands.

On arriving at Burgos, I waited on the Prince of Neuchatel to give him an account of what I had learnt of the position of the enemy in this part of the country. This information was of some importance, because Marshal Lefebvre, instead of keeping General Blake in check, while the Emperor was advancing to Burgos, had attacked him too precipitately on setting out from Bilbao, so that he had not left the Emperor sufficient time to complete his movement, and cut off the retreat of Generals Blake and Romaña; this gave occasion to the battle of Espinosa, after which the Spanish generals, though beaten, having still their rear free, were able to effect their retreat to Galicia.

The day after my arrival, I was taken to the Emperor by the major-general, to give him an account of my conjectures, and of the particulars which I had recollected. I then went to the head-quarters of the King, where I again met my old companions. His Majesty honoured me with a very kind reception.

A few days afterwards news was received of the battle of Espinosa. The Emperor made various arrangements, and when the corps of the army had arrived in the vicinity of Burgos, he resolved on his movement towards Madrid. The following was at that time the position of the army:—

The corps of General St. Cyr had entered Catalonia; that of Marshal Moncey was between Pampeluna and the Ebro; the corps of Marshal Soult had taken up a position at the camp of Carion, in advance of Burgos, on the road to Galicia; his vanguard, commanded by General Franceschi, was on the road to Valladolid and scoured the plain; in advance of that city as far as Zamora, the corps of Marshal Lefebvre and Marshal Victor, which had fought at Espinosa, were marching towards Burgos; that of Marshal Ney towards Lerma, on the road to Madrid, and the imperial guard took the same direction.

The Emperor resolved to march direct to Madrid. The three corps which he directed to the capital, together with his imperial guard, formed a total of about 45,000 men. At

the same time the corps of General Junot, called the army of Portugal, which had been conveyed to France after the capitulation of Cintra, was entering Spain, by way of Bayonne, and took the road to Burgos, at which city I was ordered to remain, to direct, according to the instruction that I should receive, the movement of the troops that would arrive at this principal point of the communication, during the Emperor's advance towards Madrid. General Darmagnac took the command of the place and of the castle, which was put into a state of defence.

After having received my orders, just as the Emperor was going to mount his horse he sent for me, and after what he said of the importance of Burgos, I took the liberty to regret that he left me this time in the rear of the army. "General," he replied, sharply, "on such a theatre of war there is neither rear nor van; I send Durosnel to Logroño with a strong detachment; you will communicate with him, and with Marshal Soult, at Carion; you will have employment enough here."

In fact the frequent communications with the imperial army on the one hand, the convoys, the detachments coming from France, the passage of the troops joining the several corps of the army, the correspondence with the major-general, and with Marshal Soult, left me but little leisure. The guerillas which soon appeared to intercept these communications, rendered them difficult and hazardous. I was often obliged to detain officers of the staff who were charged with some mission, and notwithstanding the precaution of having them escorted from one post to another, many of them fell into ambuscades, and became victims of their zeal and their temerity.

While the Emperor was passing the Douro, and forced the defiles of the Somo-Sierra, after a brilliant action, in which the light cavalry of his guard particularly distinguished itself, and in which Philip de Ségur was severely wounded, the English army debouched from Portugal by way of Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca. This army, commanded by General Moore, consisted of about 27,000 men, including some battalions of Portuguese infantry. The object of the daring march of General Moore seems to have been to attack the corps of Marshal Soult, to advance to Burgos, in order to break our line of operations, to excite and support the insurrections in the provinces of Biscay, in Navarre and Ara-

gon, and to combine this grand movement with the operations of the land and naval forces, which the allies were assembling in Catalonia, and in the fortresses on the lower Ebro.

We had not been fully aware of the union and the march of the English army; General Moore had carefully concealed his preparations, he was but too well served by the Spanish inhabitants; and notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of General Franceschi, commanding one of the vanguards of Marshal Soult, we had no certain knowledge of the presence of the army, till the first troops of its vanguard were met at Zamora, and till its movements towards Valladolid was decided. The two vanguards of Marshal Soult, that of General Franceschi before Valladolid, and that of Debelle towards Benevento, were attacked and obliged to retreat before the superior force of the enemy. I was informed of it by a message from Marshal Soult, which was brought to me by his aide-de-camp Captain Tholozé. Franceschi also wrote to me direct, to inform me that the enemy was going to occupy Valladolid, and cut off the communication with Burgos. Marshal Soult could not quit his camp at Carion, where he at least kept the enemy in check, by threatening him if he should advance any further. The English general, however, having so superior a force and no obstacle before him as far as Burgos, might resolve to march to Ebro, to effect his junction with the army which Generals Castaños and Palafox were assembling at Saragossa. The citadel of Burgos, of which only some breaches had been repaired, and the ramparts raised, could scarcely have resisted a coup-de-main. General Darmagnac, commandant of Burgos, was, however, resolved to shut himself up there, with his small garrison of about five hundred men.

The head of the columns of the army of General Junot, called the army of Portugal, was still three marches from Burgos, and I had received orders to direct to Segovia the division of cavalry, and the two divisions of infantry, of which that army was composed; the Emperor intended by this means to secure his communication with Valladolid, and march in force through New Castile to meet the English army; but General Moore, already occupying Valladolid, had only two marches to make to reach Burgos. In this difficult position, of which the Emperor could have no

knowledge, I judged that the movement of the troops to Segovia was unseasonable, and would give the enemy every facility to cut off our line of operations through Burgos, and isolate the corps of Marshal Soult, who had not sufficient force to prevent it. Supported by the opinion of the Marshal, I proposed to meet General Darmagnac to detain the troops of Junot's army, which were going to debouch successively, and to send them one march beyond Burgos, on the road to Valladolid, but the General would not take on himself the responsibility of changing an arrangement prescribed by the Emperor, and which I had officially announced to him.

On the very day on which the division of 2500 cavalry commanded by General Lorges arrived at Burgos, I received repeated orders, which were brought to me by Colonel Zimmer, aide-de-camp to the Prince of Neuchatel. I acquainted General Lorges with the position of the enemy and the despatches of Marshal Soult, and proposed, notwithstanding the orders of the Emperor, which I communicated to him, to advance towards Palencia, to support General Franceschi, and to check the first vanguard of the enemy. General Lorges refused to take on himself this movement contrary to the directions ordered by the Emperor, and set out on the following day to pass the night at Lerma.

On the same day the brigade of dragoons commanded by General Fournier, making part of the division of Lorges, arrived at Burgos, and also the first brigade of infantry of General Laborde, commanded by General Foy. The danger was imminent. Under these circumstances, being persuaded that it was my duty to risk my responsibility, I took my resolution, and in my capacity of aid-major-general of the army, and acting as the representative of the Prince of Neuchatel, I sent orders to General Lorges at Lerma to march by his right with his division, and take up such a position that he might be able to observe the road from Valladolid to Burgos. Generals Fournier and Foy made no difficulty of proceeding towards Palencia according to my instructions.

I gave an account to the major-general of the motives which had induced me to take on myself to make these arrangements, and I alleged in justification of my conduct the approbation of Marshal Soult. I sent my despatch by a quarter-master of dragoons of the division of Lorges,

charging him to make all possible haste, changing horses and taking an escort from one post to another. Two hours after his departure, I forwarded by an estafette a duplicate of my report.

General Laborde, who arrived on the following day with the remainder of his division, approved the step which I had taken, and conformed to these new arrangements by advancing his second brigade to support the first on the road to Valladolid. Marshal Soult, whom I immediately informed of these particulars, took measures relative to those which he had himself pointed out: thus he checked General Moore, who did not push his vanguard any further in the direction of Burgos.

The quarter-master who was the bearer of my report and of Marshal Soult's despatches, arrived at Madrid just as the Emperor was reviewing the corps of Marshal Ney and the imperial guard. The Emperor snatched from the hands of the Prince of Neuchatel the packet which the quarter-master had just brought; opened it, read my report, and immediately commanded the troops in the line to break up by the left, and directed them to march to Segovia.

By the return of my courier, I received despatches for Marshal Soult, new arrangements for the army of Junot, and orders to repair in person to Madrid, where I should find other instructions; the major-general also instructed me to hasten the march of the detachments that I might meet with on the road, and to visit all the posts on the line of communication.

I set out immediately with my equipages and a small escort. Between Lerma and Aranda I found a post of ten infantry and some picked gendarmes, who were quartered in an indifferent inn upon the road. It was a small lonely village, and I therefore ordered the subaltern officer to establish his post in the church, and make use of the steeple to observe the environs, and to defend himself there if he should be attacked. They neglected or delayed to execute my orders, and I learned a few days afterwards that they had all been surprised at the inn and massacred by the guerillas.

At Aranda I met with a marching battalion of about six hundred conscripts, which the commandant of the place had taken upon himself to detain there, though he had a garrison of about one hundred and fifty men, which was

quite sufficient to guard the bridge over the Douro; he had likewise detained a convoy of clothing consisting of about thirty wagons. I put the whole in march for Madrid, and set out at the same time. All my movements were watched by guerillas, which kept at a great distance upon the heights, but did not venture to attack this small convoy, on account of the strong escort, which I kept in good order. A caisson loaded with shoes, having remained a few hundred paces behind the column, was stopped and plundered, after the driver and some soldiers who were guarding it were killed. Such were the difficulties that already impeded our communications in Spain.

I reached the foot of the mountain of Somo-Sierra in very bad weather, and we had great difficulty in reaching the village at the summit, where the defile is the narrowest. A snow-storm, as violent as those which occur in the higher Alps, threw the whole column into confusion, and overturned the caissons. I, however, succeeded in getting my carriage brought to the top, because the men who pushed it forward were sheltered from the wind. The troops did not arrive at the village till the next day. This same storm stopped the army of the Emperor for two days at the mountain of Guadarama, on the road to Segovia. Though the steps were broad and very easy, the men met with more difficulties than at the celebrated passage over Mount Saint Bernard. It was impossible to stand against the fury of the wind. This extraordinary incident caused a loss of two days' march, and saved the English army, which would certainly have been surrounded.

I passed a week at Madrid waiting for the new orders which were to summon me to the head-quarters at Valladolid, and was lodged in the palace of the Duchess of Fernand-Nuñez, whom I had formerly seen at Paris at the Count de Saint Priest's, when the late duke was ambassador from Spain.

I took advantage of this short interval to pay my respects to the King. It was a great pleasure to me again to meet my friends and companions, who in various offices had remained attached to the King's person, and followed his fortune. My colleague General Belliard, who, like myself, was major-general of the imperial army, was governor of Madrid. I received from him all the information I could desire respecting the state of affairs, and especially the situ-

ation of the King. This singular capital, and its arid and almost uncultivated environs, present a faithful image of the decay of ancient splendour, and the poverty caused by negligence, and disregard of the most valuable resources. I went to examine the new fortifications of the Retiro, which was being put into a state of defence, and the command of which had been given to my old friend the brave General Paris, who was killed a short time afterwards.

Notwithstanding the good discipline and strict police which General Belliard maintained, scarcely a day passed without some Frenchmen being attacked and assassinated. It was easy to foresee that the situation of the King would become more and more embarrassing, and that the temper of the whole population was such, that it would be necessary to reduce it by arms, and to combat without ceasing on every point of this vast peninsula. This kind of warfare was odious to the French, and the necessity of conducting themselves every where as in a conquered country, already indicated the fatal consequences of this war of extermination, and the difficulty of establishing the new dynasty.

Having received the Emperor's orders to repair to his head-quarters at Valladolid, I left Madrid with my aide-de-camps and the staff-officers who had joined me. The weather was fine when we passed the mountain at Guadarama; there was very little snow, and we could not comprehend the disaster which the Emperor's army had experienced on this fine road only a fortnight before. Though the road between Madrid and Segovia was as unsafe as I had found the other side, yet we had no unpleasant adventure. Some officers joined us as we passed through Segovia, beyond which we met the division of General Dessolles, on its way to Madrid.

We reached Valladolid on the following day, when I learnt the retreat of the English army, of which our troops had scarcely been able to overtake the rear-guard. General Moore was retiring through Galicia to Coruña, pursued by the corps of Marshal Soult. The Emperor, who had just received the news of the invasion of Bavaria by the Austrians, was preparing to quit Spain. Among the several arrangements which he made at that time, he destined me to command the province of New Castile, and I was to reside at Valladolid. The Prince of Neuchatel, in announcing

my denomination, added to his despatch the following phrase: "The Emperor. general, has not disapproved your having taken upon yourself to change the movement and direction of the troops, on account of the position of the enemy." The Emperor said nothing to me upon the subject.

The report which was spread of the approaching departure of the imperial head-quarters, had excited great uneasiness among the guards. Nobody wished to remain in Spain; the grenadiers of the old guard—the old grumblers as they were called—murmured aloud. The Emperor made the troops defile before him every day in the square in front of the palace. General Legendre, chief of the staff of General Dupont, who had been summoned to give an account of the particulars of the affair of Baylen, being announced, the Emperor refused to receive him, saying only, "I will see him on the parade." Leaving the palace on foot, he walked with hasty steps towards the right of the grenadiers of the guard, seized the first grenadier by the collar, and pulling him roughly towards him, disarmed him, and appeared to threaten to have him shot; then, shoving the brave veteran back into the ranks, and addressing the troops, "I will pardon you this time," said he; "what is the meaning of the murmurs of which I am told? You want to return to your w— at Paris. Ah! you are not there—there is something else in store for you; when you are eighty years old I will keep you in the ranks."

After this harsh speech he turned abruptly to the front of his staff, and while the troops were breaking the line to file off, he perceived and came up to General Legendre, who was at my side. "It was you, sir," said he, "who signed the capitulation of Baylen?" and seizing the wrist of the general's right hand, which he shook violently, "Why," said he, "did not this hand wither?" It was with a sentiment of pain that I heard the severe expressions of the Emperor, and I felt how overwhelming such a reproach must be to him who received it.

I expected my orders for the command of the province, and was agreeably surprised when the Prince of Neuchatel informed me that my destination was changed; that the Emperor had resolved that I should return to France, and continue my functions as aid-major-general in the grand army of Germany; that, before the opening of the cam-

paign, I should be charged with a particular mission, and that General Claparède would take my place at Valladolid.

On the following day I received my new instructions, which directed me to inspect the depôts of the corps of all arms which were to form the grand army; these depôts were placed upon the frontiers, and principally in the fortresses. I was to have all the conscripts who should be assembled there, clothed, armed, and equipped, without the least delay, and sent to Strasbourg. I was ordered to make use, without regard to the particular property of each corps, of all the articles of clothing and equipment, in order that no obstacle, no remonstrance of the councils of administrations might delay the march of these several detachments. I was merely to state the destination which I had given to the effects belonging to any particular corps, or to keep a note of it, in order to acquaint the minister of war of the result of my operations, of which I was to render an account to the Emperor every day.

Napoleon left his head-quarters at Valladolid to return to France, taking with him the High Marshal Duroc, the Duke de Vicenza, Master of the Horse, the Duke de Bassano, Secretary of State, and General Durosnel. Relays and small escorts of chasseurs of the guards had been stationed on the road from Valladolid to Burgos, a distance of twenty-eight leagues, which the Emperor travelled on horseback in only four hours; at Burgos he threw himself into a chaise, and arrived at the Castle of Marce near Bayonne, from which place he proceeded without stopping till he reached Paris. Thus, while all the cabinets of the allied powers believed that he was engaged in operations in the north of Spain, he had returned to the centre of the empire, was organising another grand army, and meditating the plan of the campaign, which was so gloriously terminated by the battle of Wagram, surprising by this incredible activity those who expected to surprise him.

CHAPTER VIII.

Return to France—General inspection of the depôts—Join the army in Germany—The battle of Esslingen—The island of Lobau—Preparations for the second passage of the Danube—Conversation with the Emperor—The battle of Wagram—Pursuit of the enemy's army—Armistice—Marshal Massena—Attempt to assassinate the Emperor at Schönbrunn—Repression of a violation of the armistice—Reprimand of the Emperor—Regulations for the service in the field—Convention for the delivery of the fortresses after the treaty of peace—Destruction of the fortifications of Vienna—Return of the French Emperor to his capital—Audience of the Emperor Francis—Audience of the King of Bavaria at Munich.

This celerity was a necessary precaution, for the road to France was already infested by the guerillas. I could not travel except with my horses; I joined Marshal Lefebvre, who had likewise received orders to return to France. With our aide-de-camps and a small escort we formed quite a caravan: we advanced with precaution, sending scouts before; I had much reason to be gratified with the kindness of the Marshal. Our journey was very agreeable, for we were all very glad to leave Spain, to go and make war on a theatre with which we were acquainted, and where we might hope that the French armies would obtain more glorious successes. It was, however, with great regret that I separated from my son-in-law General Franceschi, whom I had not had the pleasure of seeing more than once during this campaign; he commanded the vanguard of Marshal Soult, and was marching to Coruña in pursuit of the rear of the English army. I was much affected at not having any more satisfactory news to carry to my daughter; but I was far from thinking that I should no more see my adopted son, that brave and excellent friend, and that the protection which I thought I had secured for my son would fail him sooner than my own.

I stopped only twenty-four hours in the small country-house which my Octavia had been so unwilling to leave. I sent my equipage to Paris, and took the road to Toulouse to begin my inspection. As the depôts which were in the departments of the south belonged to the corps which were

in Spain, I passed rapidly through those departments, stopping only a short time at Montpellier to see my sister, my uncle Loys, and my cousins; this was the last time I beheld my native city: I then went to Aix, Marseilles, Toulon, Antibes, Nice, Grenoble, Lyons, &c. after which I was summoned to Paris to give an account to the Emperor of the result of this first part of my proceedings. I received from General Dejean, who was at the head of the administration of the war department, well founded complaints of the confusion which I had caused in the organisation, and the accounts of the depôts, but I had sufficiently good excuses to allege in the positive orders which had been given me.

I passed only a few days with my children, sent my equipage to Strasburg, and set out post for Besançon to continue my operations. I went to Béfort, Huningen, and Strasburg, where the major-general had already arrived, and was waiting for the Emperor. It was towards the 15th of April, the troops were beginning to pass into Swabia, the general's staff had been re-organised. General Vignolles was my colleague as aid-major-general. Brigadier-generals Guilleminot and Lecamus were also employed as aid-majors. General Vignolles was especially charged, as chief of the staff, with the same functions that General Andreossy had performed during the campaign of 1805. As for me I had orders to hasten my inspection, always keeping along the extreme frontier of the empire, and then to rejoin the imperial head-quarters.

Accordingly I left Strasburg and proceeded along the Rhine through Worms, Mayence, Coblentz, Cologne, Juliers, Wesel, Gueldres, Maestricht, Brussels, Tournay, Lisle, Ostende, &c. In these several places I examined all the depôts of different arms, constantly continuing the same operations to hasten the departure of the detachments both of old soldiers and conscripts, according to the first instructions which I had received, and in which the Emperor had refused to make any change. He paid no regard to the just observations of General Dejean on the confusion which must necessarily be produced in the accounts of the corps, by the unexpected carrying away of the clothing, arms, and accoutrements belonging to different depôts. The Emperor had nothing in view in this violent measure but the most prompt means of turning all the resources to account.

I passed through Paris and returned to Strasburg. Having thus fulfilled my mission, I lost not a moment in repairing to the army, only stopping a few hours at Linz, where the Prince of Ponte Corvo (Marshal Bernadotte), who commanded the Saxon corps, had fixed his head-quarters. I went to see him on the eminence on the right bank of the Danube, where his troops had just had an engagement with the Austrian corps which observed that important position. On leaving Linz, I saw the still smoking ruins of Ebersdorff, where there had been a most sanguinary conflict, in which General Claparède, whom the Emperor had summoned from Spain, and who commanded one of the divisions of General Oudinot, particularly distinguished himself.

I arrived at Vienna on the 18th of May, 1809, and took up my quarters in the house of Mr. Coyd, a banker, in whose family I had been very well received during the campaign of 1805. I again occupied his country-house at Penzing, near Schönbrunn, where Napoleon had again his head-quarters. I had with me only one aide-de-camp, Captain Magalon, whom General Clarke, the minister of war, had particularly recommended to me. Some time afterwards I took for my second aide-de-camp Captain Stabenrath, a very good and brave officer, brother of the general of the same name. At Schönbrunn, I found my son-in-law Saint Didier prefect of the palace.

The Emperor had already assembled the main body of the army in the environs of Ebersdorff, on the bank of the Danube, two leagues below Vienna, where he caused a bridge to be thrown over the larger arm of the river, having already occupied the island of Lobau, in the presence of the great Austrian army, which was formed and entrenched on the left bank beyond the small arm between Aspern and Enzersdorff. I immediately repaired to the Emperor, who had just mounted his horse to go in person to accelerate the works, and hasten the passage. I was very well received, and very happy at the satisfaction which his Majesty expressed at the manner in which I had executed my commission. I received orders to return to Vienna, to carry instructions to Marshal Davoust, to hasten the movement of his troops, and of the division of cuirassiers that was to follow him.

I accompanied Marshal Davoust in the reconnoissance which he made of the banks of the Danube above Vienna,

where a heavy cannonade seemed to indicate that the enemy meant to effect a passage, but as soon as the Marshal perceived that it was an idle demonstration we returned to the city; and the firing of cannon and musketry which we heard convinced Marshal Davoust that a great battle had already commenced on the left bank of the river. In fact the bridges over the two arms of the Danube being finished, the Emperor Napoleon had caused all the disposable troops that he had at hand, about 45,000 men, to pass to the left bank. By favour of the wood which lines the left bank, they deployed in front of the Austrian army, and the action commenced with the greatest vigour at the village of Aspern, which Marshal Massena occupied, and defended with the greatest intrepidity against the reiterated attacks of the Austrians. At this moment I was with Marshal Davoust, between Heiligenstadt and Nusdorff. We turned back, and passing through the city of Vienna and the Prater, found ourselves at the extremity of that park, opposite Aspern, and separated by the river from that *point d'appui* of the left wing of our army, which was so warmly disputed, and of which Massena kept possession by prodigies of valour.

Marshal Davoust, whose troops debouched on Vienna, sent them in the night of the 21st to Ebersdorff, and made his arrangements for the passage of his corps, and of the division of cuirassiers. I preceded him, and reached at daybreak the bank of the Danube, where I found General Bertrand, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, in despair at the accident which had just occurred, and I was witness of that irreparable misfortune, the rupture of the bridge over the Danube. The enemy had loosened from the left bank, and abandoned to the rapid current of the river, some large boats in which there were mills, and these enormous masses had broken and carried away some of the boats that composed the bridge; thus the communication between the two banks was irretrievably cut off, and the battle had already commenced; we may easily conceive the despair of Bertrand, who had been entrusted with the construction of the bridge, and had executed it with equal celerity and success. "See," said that brave and able engineer, whose talents, zeal, and fidelity so fully justified the affection that Napoleon entertained for him; "see on what the success of the best combinations depends."

The troops of Marshal Davoust and the cavalry were beginning to debouch, but there was no hope, no means of bringing them to the field of battle, where only 45,000 men had to sustain the shock of 80,000 Austrians. It was of the highest importance to send over ammunition at least, and we proceeded to embark it in small boats. I threw myself into one which was already overloaded, and which it was scarcely possible to steer, on account of the rapidity of the stream, so that the point in the island of Lobau where I landed, was nearly a mile below the ruins of the bridge. I crossed the island on foot, with much difficulty, directing my steps towards the second bridge over the smaller arm, behind Esslingen, and continuing to walk on through the wood, in the direction which the wounded pointed out to me, I arrived on the field of battle, between Aspern and Esslingen. At this point of the line there was a pretty large interval. I was extremely fatigued, and meeting with an officer of the train, who remained almost alone, on horseback, among guns dismounted by the enemy's fire, I persuaded him to give me his horse, that I might be able to join the Emperor. He pointed out the spot where I should be able to find him; it was at a short distance on the right hand, between the village of Esslingen and the skirts of the forest. I felt great satisfaction in having been able to join the general staff, and to be at my post on this memorable day.

It was nearly 8 o'clock; the young guard had just repulsed the attack of the Austrian infantry upon Esslingen, and was advancing. While Massena was defending the village of Aspern, which was on fire, as valiantly as he had done on the preceding day, and kept his ground against the greatest exertions of the enemy, the old guard in order of battle, with its right to the forest, and its left between Enzersdorf and Esslingen, checked, by its fire and its steadiness, the attempt of the enemy against the right wing of the French line. General Mouton, afterwards Count Lobau, one of the Emperor's aide-de-camps, who commanded the young guard in the brilliant defence of Esslingen, had just been severely wounded. The engagement on the whole line was at such close quarters, that General Durosnel, aide-de-camp of the Emperor, being sent with orders to Marshal Lannes, whose troops formed the centre of our line of battle, fell among the enemy, and was taken prisoner. He was

supposed to be killed, and Madame Durosnel, receiving the fatal intelligence, put on mourning.

The Emperor remained for a long time on the same spot, behind the old guard, exposed to the cross fire, which the enemy directed from Enzersdorf, and from the left of the village of Esslingen, upon the angle, which the French line formed. He was constantly in motion, and would not suffer any groups to be formed around him. Some officers of his staff had their horses killed or wounded by cannon-balls or shells, but there were no other accidents.

The battle continued, both armies maintaining their ground with great loss, but without any decided advantage. The French army appeared to be enveloped; pressed against the forest, which lines the left bank of the small arm of the Danube; it remained immovable in that perilous situation.

About 2 o'clock the Emperor sent for me, through the Prince of Neuchatel, and ordered me to go, and in concert with General Grandjean, who had already repaired to the spot, see to the preservation of the bridge over the small arm, the only way by which the army could effect its retreat and repass the river, into the island of Lobau. He desired me to keep it always clear, to have the wounded conveyed to the island, and to prevent all confusion and crowding. I immediately repaired thither, and, together with General Grandjean, executed this task, which was as difficult as it was important for the safety of the army. The engineers had traced an entrenchment which was to serve as a tête-de-pont; but in spite of their exertions very little progress had been made in the work. A great number of wounded pressed forwards to pass the bridge, and among them many cuirassiers, who were dismounted, had thrown away their cuirasses. The interval between the entrenchment and the bridge was full of wounded or abandoned horses. Plunging into the river they got entangled among the cordage, and made us fear for the ropes and supports of the bridge. We had much difficulty in reducing this chaos to something like order: we were greatly indebted to the zeal and activity of General Hastrel, who had been already directed on the preceding day to superintend the passage of the bridge.

Towards four o'clock a quarter-master of the chasseurs of the Emperor's guard came to me on the middle of the bridge, and told me in a whisper that the Emperor desired

me to send a boat to a place which he pointed out on the bank, a little above the bridge. I could not execute the order, except by causing the first boat to be detached, and I was obliged to suspend the passage till I could fill up the breach by sinking fascines; but a rising of the water of the river, which increased more and more, rendered it very difficult to make and to preserve this work. Some moments afterwards I learned that the Emperor, having given orders for the retreat, had crossed over to the Isle of Lobau.

Between six and seven o'clock I had the affliction to see the brave Marshal Lannes mortally wounded, brought to the bridge; both his legs had been carried off by a cannon-ball, and he was borne on a litter, covered with leaves, by a group of grenadiers; he held out his hand to me, and I accompanied him to the extremity of the bridge. Some steps further on, this hero was deposited on the bank, where he received the first assistance, and the affectionate embraces of his friend the Emperor.

Soon afterwards Marshal Massena passed the bridge, to go and take himself the orders of tho Emperor; when he returned about eight o'clock, he told me that the retreat was going to begin, that it would continue all night, and that the whole army must have fallen back into the isle of Lobau by daybreak. The infantry began to defile, and we had much difficulty in keeping the bridge in its place, because the measured steps of the troops occasioned a libration, which, on account of the violence of the current and the rising of the water, threatened every moment to break the cables that held the bridge. The motion of the cavalry was not attended with the same inconvenience; but the passage of the horses and of the artillery caused the fascine-work to sink, so that it was constantly necessary to repair it. At daybreak there still remained on the left bank a part of the division of Legrand, all the cavalry of Marshal Bessières, and the infantry of the old imperial guard, commanded by General Dorsenne, which executed punctually, and with the greatest firmness, the order which the Emperor had given them in the following terms: "You will remain there the last, like a wall, for the safety of the army."

Marshal Massena and General Legrand went, about seven o'clock in the morning, to the head of the bridge; the old guard was just then defiling after the cavalry; the enemy, who had not yet made any movement, were approaching

the river, and their sharp-shooters began to penetrate into the wood; they were checked by the rear-guard of Legrand's division, and the bank below the bridge being already abandoned, we expected that the enemy would bring some artillery to a pretty advanced point on the side of Enzersdorf, whence they might have fired on the bridge and destroyed it. The brave captain of the pontonniers, whose name I am sorry that I have forgotten, who had performed his duties with much courage and judgment, came to me, while I was talking with Marshal Massena and General Legrand, and said to me in a low voice, "the bridge must be taken up without losing a moment." The balls of the enemy's sharp-shooters reached us, and only three companies of grenadiers lined the very imperfect entrenchment of which I have spoken. I said to the captain of the pontonniers, "take your orders yourself from the marshal." "What do you say?" replied the marshal, hastily; "I will not leave on this side a single wounded horse or a cuirass." And, in fact, he caused all the horses that were able to walk to be driven to the other side of the bridge, had all the arms and cuirasses collected, made the three companies of grenadiers cross over, and passed the bridge himself last of all.

I bivouacked in the island of Lobau, where my people had joined me, and had brought me some horses; but I was dislodged from the place which had been chosen for me, by the continual fire that our soldiers kept up on the numerous stags with which the island abounded; the balls whistled on all sides; the reins of a horse that I was going to mount were cut in two by a ball. The officers had much difficulty in checking this disorder.

During the day and night after the battle the bridge over the great arm of the Danube had been restored; I was ordered to go to the spot to establish order, and in the first place to have all the wounded removed, who had been deposited at the entrance of the bridge; it was a frightful confusion, and one of the most melancholy scenes that are to be met with in war. Many thousand wounded, who had been conveyed, or had crawled to the spot, uttered loud cries, demanded assistance, and waited till the passage over the bridge should be opened. All the troops that had been engaged had taken up positions behind the small arm of the Danube, and on the entrenchment which traverses the island in its whole length. It was to be expected that the enemy

would effect a passage over the small arm to come and attack us, but they did not dare to venture on this operation. The removal and passage of the wounded lasted twenty-four hours. Under the pretext of assisting in the removal of the wounded, a great number of soldiers left their corps, and notwithstanding the posts which I had placed at different points, pressed forward to force the passage. Marshal Davoust, who had his bivouac on the right bank, in advance of his troops, personally exerted himself with his staff, to introduce order among this crowd, and to send to their corps the able soldiers who mingled with the wounded. He came himself with some officers, to assist me in preventing this confusion.

The Emperor had returned to the head-quarters at Ebersdorf, which was at a short distance from the Danube and the bridge. I went thither after having finished my difficult task. I had much need of rest. I was lodged in a large forsaken public house, very near to the house to which the brave Marshal Lannes, both whose thighs were amputated, had been conveyed. No hopes were entertained of his life. His friend, General Frere, never quitted him. The Emperor sent every moment to inquire about him. On the next day but one after my arrival, at break of day, I heard horses galloping rapidly; it was the Emperor, accompanied by General Savary. When he perceived General Frere at the threshold, we understood by his gestures that the marshal had just expired. He suddenly stopped, dropped the reins, and lifting his hands to heaven, exclaimed, "such then is the end of all." Then he turned round, and galloped off at full speed.

On the same day the Emperor was informed that Marshal Marmont had advanced from Grätz with his corps. and had arrived at the summits of the Stummering, while Prince Eugene was entering Hungary in pursuit of the army of the Archduke John, who then finished his retreat from Upper Italy, and came to join the left of the great Austrian army. The junction of the army of Italy, with our grand army, was thus secured. From that moment the Emperor Napoleon resolved to pass the Danube a second time, and to fight a great battle on the left side of the river with the whole mass of the forces of the enemy which would be opposed to him under the command of the Archduke Charles, and in presence of the Emperor Francis. To form a just idea of

the difficulties of this great and daring undertaking, you must read the details in the history of this memorable campaign, so well and so faithfully written by General Pelet. The Emperor Napoleon having made all the arrangements for these immense preparations, returned to his head-quarters in the palace at Schönbrunn. I was ordered to attend him there; my colleague, aid-major-general Vignolles, having been sent to the army of Italy to exercise the functions of chief of the staff, under the command of Prince Eugene. I remained charged with all the details of the staff of the grand army. I was constantly engaged in the re-establishment of the several corps of the army, and reorganising them by means of the numerous reinforcements that arrived from France. Every day I presented on the parade the battalions or marching regiments, formed of the same conscripts that I had inspected in the depots. The Emperor reviewed them with minute attention, and indicated to me their destination, and that of the young officers who had come from the schools.

All the remainder of June and the beginning of July, 1809, was employed in preparing for the second passage of the Danube. A great bridge, resting on props or shores, was constructed, and a little below this bridge a second, of boats. Above the great bridge the large chain was stretched, which was preserved in the arsenal, and which had served as a barrier at the time of the siege of Vienna by the Turks. The occupation of the isle of Lobau, during the progress of the works, was confided to the corps of Marshal Massena, who fixed his head-quarters there, and did not leave them for a moment. The entrenchments which formed the tête-de-pont, the causeways made over the marshy part of the island on the east side, the formidable batteries erected there, opposite the little town of Enzersdorff, were carried on with so much order, caution, and vigilance, that the enemy did not even suspect the importance of these preparations and the design of Napoleon, and the screen of wood which bordered the right bank of the small arm of the Danube concealed from observers on the opposite bank, the progress of our works. The manœuvres, and conveying of the artillery were all executed in profound silence.

Meantime the army of Italy, under the command of the Prince Viceroy and of General Macdonald, penetrated into Hungary and overtook the rear-guard of the Archduke

John at Raab, where he was completely beaten, and the town of Raab was occupied by the French. The Archduke passed the river and occupied Presburg.

The corps of General Marmont advanced as far as Neustadt; the remainder of the army encamped at Ebersdorf, and prepared to effect the passage; the Saxon corps, under Marshal Bernadotte, had remained at Linz, and was preparing to march to Vienna: the Archduke Charles, on his side, had reinforced his army, and repaired the losses which it had sustained in the battle of Esslingen, by uniting with it the Landwehr of Bohemia; this army, amounting to 180,000 men, was encamped or cantoned in the plain called the Marschfeld, between the Danube and the hills, at the foot of which the little river Rusbach flows. The Austrians had entrenched the little town of Enzersdorf and the village of Aspern, and united these two points by a line of redoubts.

On the third of July the troops began to defile, in order to unite in the Isle of Lobau. The army of Italy, concealing its march, had advanced to Fischament, and in the night of the fourth, passed the bridges thrown over the great arm; this movement was followed by the corps of Marshal Marmont.

The Emperor had on the third transferred his bivouac into the Isle of Lobau, towards the west side, nearly 600 toises behind the point where the passage of the small arm had been effected before the battle of Esslingen. I had remained at Ebersdorf to superintend the passage of the several corps of troops. On the fourth I repaired at daybreak to the imperial camp, to give an account to the major-general, and to ask for new orders, relative to the direction which the column of the army of Italy should take, on debouching into the Isle of Lobau. At the moment of my arrival there was a pretty brisk cannonade towards the left, on the side next the old bridge. The Prince of Neuchatel had mounted his horse, and I was inquiring of some staff officers who remained in his tent, at what part of the line I might meet with him, when the Emperor came out of his tent and called me. "You are looking for Berthier," said he; "I have sent him to the little bridge, to know the meaning of this cannonade, and whether the enemy have discovered our batteries below Enzersdorf: I believe they think only of the point where the passage was

made before,—stop here; the major-general will soon return."

I then gave him an account of the passage of the several corps, and of the approach of the army of Italy. "Very well," said he; "we are ready; the Archduke John ought to make on the left bank the same movement that Eugene has done on the right bank, and be to-morrow with his thirty thousand men at the great battle: well! you will see that he will not be there." He then began to walk up and down on the green sward with his hands behind his back, asking me various questions, among which was the following: "Tell me, what do you think of Narbonne, whom I have sent to command at Raab?" "Sire," I replied, "I think he is a man whose capacity is fit for every thing; he has an elevated heart, and I believe him to have all sorts of courage." "Good! but he has never seen a gun fired." "Sire, I do not believe that he needs any apprenticeship." Suddenly changing the subject, he said, "General Dumas, you were one of those simpletons who believed in liberty?" —"Yes, sire, and I am still one of them."—"And you laboured at the revolution, like others, out of ambition?"— "No, sire; and I should have been quite out in my reckoning; for I am now exactly where I was in 1790."—"You have not clearly understood your own motives; you could not be different from others; personal interest is always at the bottom. For instance, see Massena; he has acquired sufficient glory and honour; yet he is not content; he wants to be a prince, like Murat and Bernadotte; he will get himself killed to-morrow to be a prince; this is the primum mobile of the French: the nation is essentially ambitious, and fond of conquest."

I returned to the bridges of Ebersdorf to make the remainder of the troops pass over. In the course of the 4th, the army of Italy began to debouch, with the Prince Viceroy at its head. Towards eleven o'clock at night, the flotilla commanded by Rear-Admiral Baste, and manned by the sailors of the guard, had descended the river below the bridges. It steered towards the point of land at the junction of the small and large arms of the Danube. This flotilla was intended to second at that point the attack of General Oudinot. Towards midnight the signal being given, the batteries on the island of Lobau were unmasked, and battered the left bank. More than one hundred pieces of

cannon, thirty of which were of the largest size, the howitzers and the mortars played at the same time. Enzersdorf was soon on fire. The enemy directing all their attention to the western part of the island, where we had only made a demonstration, had neglected the eastern part, that is to say, the little arm of the Danube, to the conflux with the great arm. The weak batteries which they had erected on that side could not sustain the dreadful fire of the great masked battery, under the cover of which the bridges, which were prepared and completely fitted together along the bank, were thrown over by a single operation. At the same time, General Oudinot executed his attack, flanked by the fire of the flotilla. The night was dark, and at the moment when these combined attacks were opened, a violent tempest burst over our heads: the heavens were on fire; it was a magnificent sight. The thunder seemed to contend with the explosion of the batteries, and in the intervals between the flashes which illuminated this awful scene, the bombs and the shells seemed to mingle with the lightnings which darted through the clouds.

The passage was executed without obstacle during the whole night, and on the morning of the 5th. Whether it was that the Archduke did not intend to oppose the passage by force, or that he had been surprised by this unexpected and daring manœuvre on his left, all the Austrian troops which lined the bank fell back to cross the plain of the Marschfeld, and returned to the elevated position of their intrenched camp, on the heights beyond the Rusbach, and behind the villages. This retreat was made in good order, and slowly. As soon as the French troops debouched over the bridges, on the east, and over the old bridge, which was soon restored, they formed in columns, and according to the order of battle which the Emperor had prescribed, marching forwards, gaining ground in proportion as the enemy's column retired. In this manner the vanguard or heads of the French columns kept up a cannonade the whole day with the Austrian rear-guard, which quitted the ground inch by inch.

After having superintended the passage of the bridges, I had gone to join the Emperor: he followed the movements of the columns, keeping in the centre of the line, a little behind the corps of General Oudinot, and at the head of the imperial guard, which formed the reserve. The corps of

Marshal Davoust, forming the right wing, had made a considerable detour, and was marching towards the village of Margrave-Neusiedel, on which the enemy rested their left wing. A division of the reserve of cavalry filled the interval between the corps of Marshal Davoust and the imperial guard. The army of Italy, under the command of the Prince Viceroy, marched on the left of the corps of General Oudinot. The Saxon corps under Marshal Bernadotte was more to the left, advancing towards the village of Wagram. The corps of General Marmont, or the army of Dalmatia, which had passed the bridges a little later, had formed in close columns and in reserve, behind the interval between the army of Italy and the Saxon corps; lastly, the corps of Marshal Massena, which had debouched from the island of Lobau, over the old bridge between Aspern and Esslingen, formed the left wing of the French line, and advanced towards the village of Sieben-Brünn.

About half-past seven o'clock in the evening the Austrians had entirely evacuated the plain, and occupied the very extended position, of which I have spoken above, from Margrave-Neusiedel to Amspitz; their centre was behind the village of Baumersdorf. The French columns continued to advance towards the rivulet; not a single cannon-shot, no firing of musketry was heard on the whole line; the Emperor had sent the Prince of Neuchatel to the first line to reconnoitre before night the positions of the enemy. While waiting for his report, he resolved to try the enemy's advanced posts, and said to Colonel Alexander Girardin, first aide-de-camp to the major-general, "Go and tell Oudinot that I hear nothing; let him push forward a little, and give us some music before night."

The music was soon heard, and the symphony was of a grander style than we had looked for. General Oudinot led his troops into action, passed the rivulet, carried the village, ascended the heights, and penetrated even into the Austrian camp. The Prince Viceroy, who was on his left, followed his movements; a very sharp action commenced; night came on; the firing of the musketry on the two banks of the rivulet increased. The Emperor, who a few moments before had passed the eighteenth regiment of light infantry, which the Prince Viceroy had left in reserve, ordered me to go and bring it into the line. I did not meet it at the place where we had seen it, and presuming that it

had already been marched towards the rivulet, I hastened to the spot to ascertain the truth; I found it, in fact engaged almost hand to hand with the Austrian troops. I returned to give an account to the Emperor. This very spirited attack, during which the darkness of the night and the ardour of the troops caused a disastrous confusion, was repulsed by Prince Charles, who himself rallied some battalions, and forced our troops to repass the rivulet. The Prince of Neuchatel, who had advanced to Baumersdorf, incurred great danger. Captain Mongardè, his aide-de-camp, was severely wounded at his side.

The Emperor bivouacked in the middle of the plain between two lines, keeping with him only the principal officers of his staff; he received the reports of the commanders-in-chief; Marshal Davoust came in person to take his orders respecting the attack of the enemy's left wing, which was entrusted to him.

On the 6th, at daybreak, the Emperor sent for me, through the Prince de Neuchâtel; he desired me to accompany General Guilleminot, and present him to the Prince Viceroy, to exercise the functions of the chief of his staff, in the room of General Vignolles, who had been severely wounded in the head in the attack of the preceding day. The Emperor ordered me to go then along the whole line, and to give instructions from him, to all the commanders-in-chief of the several corps of the army, to contract their outposts and not to engage in any attack till the enemy should have made some movements, and manifested his intentions. The corps of Marshal Massena, which, having debouched by the old bridge and the village of Aspern, formed our left wing, was not included in this order; my mission stopped at the Saxon corps, which was in the centre of the line of battle, under the command of the Prince of Ponte Corvo. I went first with this order to General Oudinot, and then to Prince Eugene, who received the new chief of his staff, and showed me himself the position of his advanced posts on this side of the little river, within musket-shot of those of the enemy, who did not yet make any movement. We only saw in the front of their first line, which was within half cannon-shot of ours, groups of officers running in different directions. We could clearly distinguish their numerous batteries, which crowned the heights. The Prince Viceroy was pleased to accompany me to the left of

his line of battle, beyond which I did not perceive any troops.

There was a great interval between the army of Italy and the Saxon corps, and the only information I could obtain respecting the position of the latter was the assurance, that about ten o'clock at night Marshal Bernadotte occupied the village of Wagram, which had been set on fire, and was about half a league from the place where we were. I proceeded, therefore, towards the village, across the plain, which was covered with very high standing corn, having with me only my brave old hussar Mourrier. When we were about the centre of the plain, a post of Austrian chasseurs of seven or eight men rose on my right hand, in the middle of the corn, at a distance of about fifty paces, and saluted us with a discharge of their carbines. Seeing that I had got too near the enemy's advanced posts I turned a little to the left, but almost at the same moment, another small post of these troops arose on my left, and fired, but missed us. I was very well mounted, as was also my attendant, and was soon out of their reach, very happy at not having been unhorsed and taken. Not far from the village of Wagram, and a little in the rear, I met with a post of Saxon cavalry, and learnt that the enemy had returned in force to the village of Wagram, and that Marshal Bernadotte had withdrawn his troops to the village of Aderkla, about five hundred toises from Wagram.

I met Marshal Bernadotte at the entrance of Aderkla; he was thoughtful and very discontented. When I had communicated to him the Emperor's order, he said that he did not think of attacking, and that not being supported he should think himself but too happy to maintain his position, and that he had a very superior force opposed to him. A strong column was preparing to issue from the village of Wagram; he took me to a little eminence above Aderkla, from which we could plainly distinguish the further end of the valley, and the motions of a pretty considerable corps of infantry which was coming down from the heights. I told the Marshal that the Emperor had given orders to place at his disposal the division of General Dupas, which was in reserve behind Aderkla; that the Emperor was going to have the enemy's left wing attacked by Marshal Davoust, and that as soon as this attack should commence, he would come in person to the centre, and would not fail to have the

Saxon corps supported. I added that I was going immediately to give the Emperor an account of his situation, and that if he would send one of his aide-de-camps with me, that officer would bring back the answer, and the new arrangements of his majesty.

It was near six o'clock when I left the Marshal. A brisk cannonade soon opened on the whole line; the Austrian batteries firing downwards, had the advantage over ours, and did more injury to our second line and our reserve than to our first line, which advanced nearly to the rivulet. I rejoined the Emperor at the extreme right, where, waiting till the divisions of Marshal Davoust should have got beyond the left wing of the Austrians, and commenced the attack of the village of Margrave-Neusiedel, the Emperor had caused the battery of light artillery to be brought to the edge of the escarpment, and kept up a brisk cannonade on this side of the village, to favour the Marshal's attack. A division of cavalry was brought up to support this battery; we remained respectively in this position till about nine o'clock, separated only by the rivulet, which is rather more confined in this place than in the rest of the plain of the Marschfeld. We very distinctly perceived the manœuvres of the Austrian infantry, which was marching to the plateau of Neusiedel. Prince Rosenburg commanded this left wing of the Austrian line.

The Emperor had sent back Marshal Bernadotte's aide-de-camp to inform him that he was going himself to the Saxon corps; he in fact did so between nine and ten o'clock, and very seasonably, to remedy the disorder caused by the impetuous attack of the column which had issued from the limits of Wagram. The Saxon infantry had given way, and lost much ground; the Emperor had alighted and rallied some battalions which were already broken; he led them forward and had them supported by General Nansouty's division of heavy cavalry, which took an oblique position, facing the villages of Aderkla, and Sieben-Brunn. The strong column which had repulsed the Saxon corps had advanced to this side of Aderkla. The division of Carra Saint Cyr, belonging to the corps of Marshal Massena, received orders to attack that village. The fourth regiment of the line commanded by Colonel Boilédieu, and a battalion of another regiment carried the village, passed through it, and broke a line of infantry which was on the

other side, but not being well supported, these troops were quickly driven back, two colonels were taken, and the enemy re-entered the village.

The Archduke Charles had executed against the left wing of the French army, formed, as I have said, by the corps of Marshal Massena, the same manœuvre that the Emperor Napoleon executed against the left wing of the Austrian army. The Archduke had greatly reinforced his right wing; his intention was to cut off the French army from the Isle of Lobau, and the division of General Boudet had already been driven back to the bridge between Esslingen and Aspern.

The Emperor was sensible that it was absolutely necessary to stop and to ruin the centre of the Austrian army, where Count Colloredo commanded. He sent me with orders to the imperial guard, which was in reserve, formed in two lines with all its artillery in front of the first line, to make a change of front with the right before, which would place it in an oblique direction facing the villages of Wagram and Aderkla. I carried this order, and followed the movement of the artillery, at the head of which was General d'Aboville. The whole of this artillery which consisted of sixty cannon, having executed the change of front, placed itself on the right in one line, and in order of battle. General Lauriston took the command; at this moment the gunners crying all at once "a hundred paces nearer," dragged the guns down the hill, and continued a terrible fire, which crushed and drove back the masses of the Austrian infantry. The corn, already dry, was set on fire in many places by the shells, which increased the confusion. The Emperor, placed on the hill behind the great battery, observed attentively the attack on the plateau of Margrave Neusiedel, which was at the distance of three quarters of a league. At this very moment an aide-de-camp of Marshal Massena came to announce to him the progress of the enemy's right wing, the retreat of Boudet's division, and the loss of its artillery. This aide-de-camp observed that the cannon which we had heard behind us, in the direction of Esslingen and Rasdorf, was that of the enemy. Napoleon, thinking only of the attack of Marshal Davoust, appeared to pay no attention to the report of Massena's aide-de-camp, and perceiving at length that the flashes of the cannon of Marshal Davoust were certainly beyond the

town of Margrave Neusiedel, he answered the aide-de-camp, "If Boudet's artillery is taken, it is because it was there for that purpose; go and tell Massena that the battle is gained." And so indeed it was; since Marshal Davoust, having formed his divisions on the plateau, took in flank the whole corps of the Prince de Rosenburg, and forced it upon the centre, while General Oudinot and the Prince Viceroy passed the rivulet, ascended the height, and attacked at the point of the bayonet the battalions of the mass of infantry which had just been overwhelmed by the great battery of the guard.

The Archduke Charles had already made his arrangements for the retreat, but he would hardly have executed it, and the battle of Wagram would have had very different results for the French if the charge of cavalry which the Emperor had ordered, had been executed at the decisive moment. Marshal Bessières, who had just received orders to charge with all the cavalry of the guard, having had his horse killed under him by a cannon-ball, was thrown on the ground, and was supposed to have been killed. The order could not be conveyed to General Walther, who was at the head of the column of cavalry of the guard. This cavalry filed off before the Emperor, uttering cries of victory, while his Majesty repeated, "*Ne sabrez pas: pointez, pointez.*" This column was obliged to stop on the hill behind the battery of the guard, and lost many men by the enemy's fire.

The left wing of the Austrian army abandoned to Marshal Davoust all this part of the field of battle, and made its retreat by the road to Nicolsburg. The centre and the right wing marched by way of Amspitz to Stockerau. In proportion as this right wing gave ground in the plain. Marshal Massena, who had renewed the combat, pressed it, as much as the numerous artillery, which covered the enemy's movement, would permit. The French cavalry suffered much by the fire of this artillery, and by that of the squares of the Austrian infantry, which retreated in good order. It was there that the brave General Lasalle was killed.

The Emperor, who had remained till that time between the two masses of cavalry, viz. that of his guard and that of Nansouty's division, exposed to the cross fire of the Austrian batteries, retired a little to the rear, and at first sat

down upon a drum, and then laid himself on the ground to take some rest. At this moment General Wrede advanced into the plain with a division of Bavarian troops. He came to take orders of the Emperor, who directed him to the village of Wagram, in pursuit of the enemy. He was wounded there a few instants afterwards.

About seven o'clock in the evening the Austrian army had entirely evacuated the field of battle and all the positions. The Emperor had his tents set up, and while the cavalry was pursuing the Austrian rear-guard, he went to the line beyond the rivulet and stopped before the corps of General Macdonald. He congratulated him on the brilliant bayonet charge which he had conducted, and embraced him, calling him *M. le Maréchal.* The Prince of Neuchatel, who was present, said, "It is thus brave men are reconciled." He alluded to the partial disgrace in which General Macdonald had remained ever since the trial of General Moreau.

The Emperor, returning to his bivouac at half-past eight, had just alighted from his horse, when a cry of "to arms," proceeded from the right wing, was repeated along the whole line. Though there could be no doubt but that this was a false alarm, the Emperor ordered the recall to be beat, remounted his horse, and rode slowly to the right, followed by all his staff. A general officer, who blamed this anxiety after so glorious a day, was severely reprimanded by the Emperor. "Know, general," said he, "that victory should never inspire too much confidence, and that it may escape from him who implicitly relies upon it."

The Emperor justly suspected that the Archduke John, who might have joined his brother in the morning with 25 or 30,000 men, was at that moment arriving, when it was too late, on the field of battle. Some of his scouts had surprised soldiers who had strayed into the plain, and the surrounding villages, and these men had raised the alarm, which spread rapidly. It was soon ascertained that these scouts had fallen back, and that the Archduke having been informed of the events of the preceding day, had repassed the Marsch, and was retreating towards Presburg.

I passed the night in the tent of the Prince of Neuchatel; I received orders to remain on the field of battle, to see to the removal of the wounded. The whole of the 7th of July

was employed in performing this duty. It was very late when I reached Amspitz, and on the 8th I joined the imperial head-quarters at Wolkabrück. The Emperor stopped there while the army defiled in pursuit of the enemy; that is to say, Marshal Massena with his corps and two divisions of cavalry, on the road to Znaym: Marshal Davoust on the road to Nicolsburg, and all the rest of the army, by an intermediate road, to pass the Taya.

Marshal Massena had a smart engagement at the bridge of Znaym, and in the suburbs of that little town, which the enemy occupied in force. The Archduke Charles had taken a position behind the town, his right resting on the Taya, crossing the road to Bohemia; the Emperor manœuvred in order to outflank the enemy's left, by which he would intercept its communications with Hungary, by way of Brünn, and force it to fall back into Bohemia. The corps of General Marmont, who, as well as Generals Oudinot and Macdonald, had been elevated at the same time as they to the rank of Marshal of the Empire, had passed the Taya, and was advancing; he was in a condition to attack the enemy's left wing. Marshal Davoust, after having pursued as far as Nicolsburg the remains of the corps of Prince Rosenburg, which was retiring by way of Brunn, ascended the left bank of the Taya with his whole corps.

The position of the Austrian army was extremely bad, very confined, and the Archduke Charles could not remain in it any longer without running the risk of losing a still more decisive battle than that of Wagram. The Emperor Napoleon had his head-quarters in the castle of Laa, on the left bank of the Taya, and on the following day all the corps of the army being in the line, he bivouacked with his whole guard on the plateau opposite the town of Znaym, from which we were separated only by a ravine, on the banks of which the advanced posts of the two armies exchanged some musket-shot with each other.

On the evening of the same day, after the Emperor in person had reconnoitred the position, the arrival of Prince John of Leichtenstein was announced, who, having presented himself with a flag of truce at the advanced posts of Marshal Massena, had been constrained to take the road to Vienna, in order to come to the Emperor at the rear of the army; he came, in the name of the Emperor Francis, to

propose an armistice, the bases of which were arranged the same night after a long conference.

On the following day, the prince having departed, the Emperor sent for me, and in the presence of the Prince of Neuchatel, put into my hand the bases that had been agreed upon, directing me to go to the head-quarters of the Archduke Charles, to regulate, according to the instructions which would be given me by the major-general, the several clauses and the details of the armistice. I set out in a few moments with a trumpeter. After passing through Znaym, where Prince Reuss commanded, I met, at a little distance from the town, a post of hulans, and desired to be conducted to the head quarters. I observed on my left hand, following the road to Bohemia, a great body of cavalry passing from the right of the position to the left. A few minutes afterwards I was stopped by a group of staff officers, at the head of whom was the Prince of Schwartzenberg, who had with him Prince Maurice de Liechtenstein, brother of Prince John. When I had communicated to Prince Schwartzenberg my orders and my mission, he told me that I could not go to the head-quarters of the Archduke; that he was four leagues further off; that probably I should not find him there, and that he had orders to direct all flags of truce relating to the armistice to the head-quarters of General Wimpfen, chief of the staff of the army, who had received all the necessary instructions, and full powers from the Archduke relative to that subject. Prince Maurice offered to accompany me. I was sorry to lose the opportunity of having the honour of paying my respects to the Archduke Charles, and of treating directly with his imperial highness. Prince Maurice conducted us to a village, at the distance of about a league on the right. We did not find General Wimpfen, who did not arrive till two hours afterwards, doubtless because notice had been sent him at the Archduke's head-quarters. I discussed with these gentlemen the several clauses of the armistice, as I had been directed to stipulate them. General Wimpfen signed them on the part of Archduke Charles, and informed me that General Rothkirch would be appointed commissioner for the execution of the convention.

While I was conferring with General Wimpfen, the main body of the Austrian army had commenced its march towards the frontiers of Hungary, taking the road from

Iglau to Brunn, leaving before us only a rear-guard of cavalry. When I returned through Znaym, I found the town occupied by the troops of Marshal Massena, who had just fixed his head-quarters there. I went to congratulate him. He was so good as to narrate to me all the details of what had passed in the left wing of the army during the 6th of July. He was still suffering from the effect of a fall which he had had some days before the battle. He had not been able to mount his horse, and had been driven in a chaise in the midst of the fire, and exposed to the greatest dangers. Several cannon-balls had struck the carriage, and one had passed between his legs and through the seat. It was the same situation as that of Marshal Saxe at the battle of Fontenoy. His eldest son, acting as his aide-de-camp, had not quitted him a moment. "This chap," said he, presenting him, "has given me more uneasiness than all the Austrian army."

The Emperor had already returned to Schönbrunn, whither I repaired, and continued, during the whole course of the negotiations, to perform the offices of chief of the staff and imperial commissioner for the execution of the armistice. I had every reason to be satisfied with the scrupulous punctuality of General Rothkirch.

It was about this time that a young student, a member of the famous Society of the Tugendbund, a fanatic assassin, resolved to attempt the life of the Emperor, and was very near executing his horrible design in the middle of the parade, in the court-yard of the palace of Schönbrunn. He had observed that the wounded soldiers, on leaving the hospital, were frequently permitted to present their petitions to the Emperor; in general after the troops had filed off. He ventured to approach when he was passing along the ranks of the guard, after having reviewed the marching battalions, which were always formed in the first line. I had just left the Emperor and was returning to my post at the foot of the great staircase, when this individual passed close by me. He was only ten steps from the Emperor when he accidentally met the Prince of Neuchatel, who had just been speaking to me. The Prince asked him what he wanted, and as he showed a paper which he said he desired to present to the Emperor, the Prince pushed him back with his hand, and told him to go behind the sentinels who formed the line, but as he persisted in following him, in

order to get nearer to the Emperor, the Prince of Neuchatel called General Rapp and told him to make him retire. Two gendarmes then approached and conducted him out of the circle of the parade. As he refused to follow them, they seized him by the arm, which he held in a sling under pretence of being wounded, and found his right hand armed with a dagger, or rather a two-edged knife. They conducted him to the guard of the palace, and after the parade the Emperor ordered him to be brought before him. The wretched enthusiast, without losing his presence of mind, replied to the Emperor, that he had devoted himself to deliver Germany from his tyranny. The Emperor then told his chief physician, Corvisard, to examine this fanatical assassin, and to feel his pulse. Corvisard obeyed, and declared that his pulse was quite regular, and did not indicate the slightest emotion. "And if I was to pardon you?" said the Emperor. "You would do wrong," answered the young man, "for I should make another attempt to kill you." No further confession could be obtained from him than a declaration that he had taken this resolution alone, and had no accomplice. In the course of the evening the Emperor ordered that he should be delivered to the provost of the army as a spy. He was shot the next morning at day-break.

Though the line of demarcation had been very clearly traced in the convention, I had often occasion, in concert with my colleague the Austrian commissioner, to remedy some little infraction in the position of the advanced posts. The most remarkable was that which Prince Joseph Poniatowsky took upon him to commit on the frontier of Galicia. Being informed that an Austrian column, consisting of some battalions of militia, was retiring into Hungary, where the whole Austrian army had assembled, he passed the line of demarcation with a strong detachment, intercepted this column, took up an advantageous position on the Austrian territory, and pretended to retain it, as well as the prisoners and the artillery which he had taken. I laid before the major-general the well-founded complaints of the Austrian commissioner, and asked for his orders before I wrote to Prince Poniatowsky. The major-general answered, that this affair did not concern him, and that the execution of the armistice was confided to me, on my responsibility. I did not hesitate to give orders to Prince Poniatowsky to con-

form to the treaty, to restore the prisoners and the artillery, and to withdraw his troops within the line of demarcation. The Emperor, who had been informed by the Prince of his incursion, and of the advantages that might result from it in case of the renewal of hostilities, disapproved of my decision. He sent for me to give him an account of it, in presence of the Prince major-general, and of the Viceroy of Italy. He bitterly reproached me and the major-general, with desiring to favour the interest of the enemy, and pay our court at his expense. "How can you pretend, gentlemen, to decide thus, of your own authority, on matters of such importance? It is you then that command the army, and I am *il ré de cope?* Let us see, General Dumas, the register of your correspondence." I laid it before him, pointing out my last letter to Prince Poniatowsky; he looked over it, seemed in a very ill humour, and threw the register on the floor. As I was replying to the questions which he put to me relative to different disputed points in the execution of the armistice, and particularly with regard to Zara in Dalmatia, of which he demanded the immediate delivery, Prince Eugene, who was walking with him, turned round and made me a sign not to answer; but I found this quite impossible. Berthier preserved the most obstinate silence. "You fancy yourselves very important persons, you gentlemen chiefs of the staff. I have made you too great signiors, and you flatter those of the court of Austria. If an Austrian general had taken upon himself to give such orders, he would be sent to a fortress. The chiefs of the staff ought to be only instruments; I have but to call in young Marbœuf, the orderly officer, who is in the hall, and I will make him my major-general."

After having thus reprimanded us, he dismissed us, and nothing further was said of this affair. I continued to perform the duties of both my offices till the conclusion of the treaty of peace. The Emperor also directed me to draw up regulations for the service in the field, according to the ordinances in vigour, and the various orders of the day, which had been previously published. The several chapters of these regulations were successively laid before the Emperor, who himself made considerable corrections. The chapter on the functions and the duties of the governors and commanders of fortresses, was entirely dictated by him. He approved of all the rest, and ordered it to be

printed and distributed in the army. These regulations have since served as the basis of the more extended ordinance which is now in force. Though I had reason to fear that I had given offence in the performance of my duty, I was nevertheless very well treated. The Emperor appointed me grand officer of the legion of honour, and granted me a dotation with a revenue of 13,000 francs per annum, on the estates of the convents which had been suppressed in the Duchy of Parma. I already enjoyed a more considerable dotation in the Hanoverian territory.

No stipulation had been made in the treaty of peace, respecting the giving up of the provinces which were to be restored to Austria, and their evacuation by the French troops. It had merely been agreed that a military convention should be drawn up to regulate these points. I was directed to carry on this negotiation in the name of the Emperor Napoleon, and according to the instructions which were transmitted to me by the major-general. The Count de Wrbna, High Chamberlain to the Emperor of Austria, was appointed to negotiate with me. The Major-general the Prince Neuchatel, on whom the Emperor had just conferred the title of Prince of Wagram, received orders to remain in the palace of Schönbrunn, after the departure of the Emperor, till the conclusion of this military convention, which he was to ratify, and sign with his new title, a condition which appeared very hard, and the execution of which I had great trouble to obtain. However, this was not the greatest difficulty which I had to surmount. The Emperor Napoleon, using the right of conquest, even after the conclusion of the treaty of peace, was resolved to dismantle Vienna, and had given orders to continue the works, which were commenced at the great bastion, under the direction of General Bertrand. The Austrians exerted all their efforts to prevent the entire execution of this rigorous order. Count Wrbna, who saw clearly that this last sacrifice was imperatively required, calmed the well-founded irritation which it excited, and I had personally every reason to be satisfied with the justice which he did me, and his consideration for my situation. In fact I could not give way upon any of the points fixed in my instructions, nor delay their execution. All the mines were ready and charged, the match was applied, and the casing of these ancient and formidable ramparts was thrown into the

moats. This dreadful explosion, while we were holding the last sitting of the commission in the hotel of Count Wrbna, produced the effect of an earthquake, and it was thought for some little while that the cathedral had been considerably damaged. The remarkable and well-known inclination of the spire seemed to be increased. The convention was signed with all the conditions dictated by the Emperor, and was ratified by the Major-general Prince of Wagram, under this new title, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Austrian commissioners, against what they called the last affront.

I received orders to remain at Vienna till the entire execution of the convention; I was fortunate enough to accomplish this delicate mission without wounding the feelings of the vanquished party, and yet without deviating in any point from the very strict instructions which had been given me. I made trifling concessions, which did not affect the substance of the stipulations which had been agreed upon, in which I was assisted and seconded by Marshal Davoust, whose corps occupied Vienna, and was to form the rear-guard, withdrawing successively to the position of St. Polten, and then to the line of the Ens.

I had retained with me my old aide-de-camp and friend, Count Louis Romœuf, whom Marshal Davoust was so good as to detach from his staff. It was during my abode at Vienna, that I presented Colonel Romœuf to Madame de Traunweiser. This lady had a fine country-house on the mountain of Kahlenberg, in the environs of Vienna. At the commencement of the invasion, this mansion had sustained considerable damage from the Wurtemberg troops, who had especially carried off some very fine Transylvanian horses, which I had caused to be traced, and restored to Madame Traunweiser. She highly valued this little service, and testified her gratitude by every possible attention and kindness. Her only daughter, Charlotte, was one of the most beautiful young women in Vienna, equally amiable and accomplished. She received the addresses of Count Romœuf with the approbation of her mother, who promised that the union should take place as soon as circumstances should permit. I felt sincere pleasure in the happiness of my friend, and in having been able to forward an alliance which was likewise very advantageous in point of fortune. The peace recently concluded confirmed the hopes of a couple who were so well

matched. I was far from foreseeing that new storms would break out in the north of Europe, and that the hopes of my friend would vanish with his life on the field of battle, where he was mortally wounded, and expired in my arms.

The city of Vienna and the whole circle of Lower Austria having been first evacuated, the Emperor Francis returned to his capital, and I witnessed the reception that he met with: it was night when he arrived in the city, which was spontaneously illuminated; he was in an open carriage, and had with him his faithful friend Count Wrbna; thus he passed through the principal streets of the city, amidst the most rapturous acclamations and the benedictions of the people. A few days afterwards I was admitted to an audience of the Emperor Francis; I was introduced by Count Wrbna, and received in the most honourable manner. The Emperor repeatedly expressed his high esteem of the Emperor Napoleon, and his sincere desire to consolidate more and more, peace and good understanding between the two nations.

Towards the end of December, 1809, my commission being accomplished, and the Austrian provinces which were to be restored being entirely evacuated by the French troops, I received orders to return to Paris. I stopped at Linz, to take leave of Marshal Davoust, and afterwards at Munich, to pay my respects to his Majesty the King of Bavaria, and to thank him for having been pleased to confer on me the grand cross of the military order of Maximilian. He had added to this favour that of obtaining from the Emperor Napoleon permission for me to wear it. I also received an honourable testimony of regard from the Emperor of Austria. Count Wrbna sent me from his Majesty a snuff-box, with the portrait of the Emperor Francis set in diamonds. The Emperor Napoleon permitted me to accept it.

CHAPTER IX.

Return to Paris—General direction of the conscription and reviews—General instruction for the conscription—Captivity and death of General Franceschi—Affliction and death of my daughter Octavia.

On my return to Paris I resumed my duties in the section of war, in the council of state, and soon afterwards in the month of February, 1810, I was appointed director-general of the conscription and reviews; these were important functions, in which I succeeded the Count de Cessac (Lacuée), who was called to the ministry of the administration of war, in the room of General Count Dejean.

The two essential branches of the war department, the business of which was confided to me, took up all my time. I found the offices of the conscription properly organised, and conducted by a very able director, M. Hargenvilliers; I had only to follow the good regulations left me by Count de Cessac. It was not the same with the part that related to the reviews; in which the frequent mutations, the new formations of corps, their amalgamation, the numerous incorporations, and lastly, the great movements of the armies, had caused much confusion. I first directed my attention to the re-organisation of the offices. I employed some of the most experienced inspectors of reviews, with whose zeal I had every reason to be satisfied. I was ably seconded by M. Rabou in particular, who was perfectly acquainted with the laws which regulated the reviews. So good a guide was indispensable to me, in this labyrinth of ordinances, decisions, and circulars which had successively overloaded and embarrassed this part of the military administration. I divided the labour by a new classification, and succeeded in reducing to order the accounts of all the corps of the army.

I thus carried on simultaneously the direction of the two branches which were confided to me. I asked and obtained permission for my cousin and friend, M. Combes, whom I had left at Naples, and whom King Joachim had retained as post-master-general, to fill the office of my chief secre-

tary. His love of order, his punctuality and vigilance, were most useful. Once a week I transacted business with the minister of war, but only for form's sake. I laid before him and explained in a summary manner my several reports and draughts of decrees and decisions which he was to submit to the Emperor; he afterwards returned them to me; but in general, and in every thing relative to the conscription, his Majesty sent me his orders direct. At the time of the levies he entered into the minutest details respecting the destination and the distribution of the conscripts. My correspondence with the prefects of the departments and with the corps was very extensive. To give an idea of the prodigious details of this part of the war department, it will suffice to say, that in the year 1810 and 1811, I despatched 70,000 letters in a year.

The Emperor several times favoured me with tokens of his satisfaction, and the most remarkable was his approbation of the general instructions which I had drawn up respecting the different operations of the conscription. I had judged it necessary to collect in a manual, all the laws, regulations, and decisions. In order to introduce entire uniformity in the labours of the several agents, and to prevent the frequent errors and doubts produced by the multiplicity of special decisions, and the ambiguity of the explanations, I had added to these general instructions, a series of tables to serve as models, in order to secure a perfect similitude in the operations, as well as to render them more simple and more rapid. I had employed more than six months on this work. M. Hargenvilliers, the chief clerk, my secretary, and the clerks of the first class, discussed every day, in my presence, the successive chapters of these instructions; I then carefully revised and corrected what they had done. When this work, which you see was much more that of my coadjutors than my own, and especially that of M. Hargenvilliers, was completed, I took it to the Duke de Feltre, minister of war, with an explanatory report. I did not dissemble that I had thought it my duty to soften as much as possible the rigours of the law for some cases of exemption. I gave an account of several changes, the justice and utility of which had been proved by experience, and proposed to his Majesty to nominate a commission composed of counsellors of state of the sections of war and of the interior, to examine this work and give him an ac-

count of it. The Emperor, after having read my report, approved the general instructions and ordered me to publish them. This manual has since served as a guide to all the civil and military agents employed in the various operations of the conscriptions. It has been translated into German and Italian, and several states of Europe have adopted and put into practice the regulations which it contains.

While I was thus entirely devoted to my occupations, and was recompensed for my exertions by the marks of satisfaction which I received from the Emperor, my domestic happiness was embittered by the premature death of my son-in-law General Franceschi, and the irremediable affliction of my dear Octavia.

During my last residence at the head-quarters at Schönbrunn, I received the news of the capture of General Franceschi, by a guerilla, in the environs of Zamora. It was after the admirable retreat of the army of Portugal under the command of Marshal Soult, that Franceschi was entrusted by him with a very important mission, which could not have been confided to an officer more capable of fulfilling it. Franceschi had just commanded his rear-guard, under the most trying circumstances, and had distinguished himself by brilliant manœuvres and the rarest intrepidity. The marshal equally esteemed his character and talents, and honoured him with his friendship. He directed him to go to Madrid and explain to King Joseph, and to Marshal Jourdan his major-general, the movement which he intended to make in the rear of the Anglo-Spanish army, commanded by Lord Wellington. Marshal Soult asked the King of Spain to manœuvre with his united force, in front of Lord Wellington, so as to keep him in check, but without venturing a serious engagement, till the army of the marshal should be able to attack the English army on its left flank, and in its rear upon the right bank of the Tagus, and to cut off every means of retreat. The success of this combined operation appeared to be infallible, and must have decided the fate of the war. It would have been a second battle of Almanza.

The importance of this mission, and the necessity of reaching Madrid without losing a moment, induced Franceschi to take no escort. Relying on his perfect knowledge of the country, he took with him only his aide-de-camp Count Bernard, and Captain Anthoine, brother-in-law to

Marshal Suchet, and aide-de-camp to Marshal Soult. Franceschi was the victim of his zeal and misplaced confidence. Being deceived by a postilion, who proposed to take a path through very high corn, which he said was much shorter than the ordinary road, he was led into an ambush, and suddenly surrounded by a guerilla of about thirty horsemen, commanded by the famous Capucino. Being separated from his two aide-de-camps, who were threatened with the same fate, he was on the point of being put to death, when the chief of the guerilla arrested the hand of those who were about to stab or to shoot him. He knew Franceschi, who had often pursued him in this same part of the country; he ordered his men to take him alive, in order to conduct him to Seville, the seat of the government of the Cortes. He was taken in the first place to Ciudad Rodrigo, and thence to the English head-quarters, where Lord Wellington, who had the goodness to inform me of it, did every thing in his power to retain the brave Franceschi, but the Capucino would not consent to give up his prisoners; he never lost sight of them, and Lord Wellington having invited Franceschi to dinner, the Capucino seated himself by his side, lest he should escape. Neither the general-in-chief of the English army, nor the commander of the guerillas suspected that they had in their hands the general officer who was the depositary of a secret which might have so great an influence on the issue of the campaign. If Franceschi had been with King Joseph, he would probably have changed his resolution of fighting unseasonably the battle of Talavera; the efforts of Lord Wellington and the admirable firmness of the English troops, to maintain this strong position and secure their retreat beyond the Tagus, would have been vain, if King Joseph, by delaying his attacks for a few days only, had given Marshal Soult time to complete his movements, and to secure a decisive victory. General Foy, who was sent instead of General Franceschi after his capture, arrived at Madrid when it was too late.

The Capucino took his prisoners to Seville, boasted highly of his achievement, and placed them at the disposal of the junta of government. He received orders to take the three prisoners to Grenada, where they were closely confined in the Alhambra. When General Sebastiani approached that city with his corps, Franceschi and his companions were sent to Malaga. A few days afterwards

they were embarked for Majorca, and finally, with fifteen other French officers who were prisoners, conveyed to Carthagena and confined in the arsenal.

From the time that my daughter became acquainted with these events, she had not a moment's rest: the only means of soothing her and dispelling her fatal forebodings, was by making every possible effort to obtain the exchange of her husband. The Spaniards would not consent, except on condition that General Palafox, who had been taken at Saragossa, should be given up to them. This the Emperor refused; all other means of exchange proposed by King Joseph, and by Marshals Soult and Suchet, were continually rejected by the Spaniards; they consented only to the exchange of Captain Anthoine. Bernard remained alone with Franceschi.

The health of my daughter daily declined. She declared to me that she could not exist long if I refused to let her go and join her husband in his prison. The Queen of Spain took her to the Emperor, who permitted her to ask for passports to go to England, and there embark, to proceed by sea to Carthagena. I was engaged in the preparations for this voyage, when I received the fatal news of the death of General Franceschi. The yellow fever, which raged at Carthagena, had reached and carried off the French prisoners. Permission had been obtained for Franceschi to quit the prison of the arsenal, and to be lodged and guarded in the house of a merchant. But that brave and generous friend would not quit his companions; he nursed them; thus braving a danger, greater than all those which he had so often encountered on the field of battle. Of seventeen officers confined in this prison twelve were carried off by the yellow fever. Franceschi was almost the last that was attacked, and died in the arms of his aide-de-camp, pronouncing the name of his beloved Octavia.

My heart was torn with grief. I lost an adopted son, who was worthy of all my affection, and whom I loved like my other children; I lost an excellent friend, and the consolations which his noble character, his talents, and the reputation which he had acquired in the army reserved for my old age. In spite of all the pains I took to prepare my daughter for the dreadful blow, which I was to inflict on her, she had a presentiment of it, and fell as if struck by lightning into my arms. As soon as the assistance of her

sister and mine had recovered her, she prostrated herself and prayed fervently. From that fatal day nothing could dispel her gloomy melancholy; she hardly ever quitted her apartment, and would not lay aside her mourning; I could not shake her resolution, to die. Her health began to decline, and she refused the remedies that might have cured her. In vain I endeavoured in the fine season, to make her quit Paris. I almost dragged her away by force, to take her into the country; she would not remain there a single day. She threw herself into my arms, and said she should die unless I took her back to Paris, to the apartment which contained the portrait of her husband. She became worse in the autumn, and the symptoms of the frightful disorder which had deprived me of her mother, left me but faint hopes of preserving her. At length, on the 13th of February, 1812, after a long and cruel agony, this angel left me; she expired in my arms.

The assiduous labour to which I was forced to devote myself amidst all my afflictions had nearly exhausted my strength. I continued during the remainder of the year to exercise the functions of director-general. As I have said above, my situation was every thing that I could have desired, and I should have fully enjoyed it, had not my domestic happiness been so deeply wounded. I had, besides, many sweet consolations, and my ambition was fully satisfied. Every thing appeared to announce a long peace; since the marriage of the Emperor with the Archduchess Maria Louisa, there had been no cloud in the political horizon, except the fatal war in Spain, where the storms gathered, which no one foresaw to be destined to lead to such great commotions. The birth of the King of Rome seemed necessarily to consolidate the new dynasty. We flattered ourselves with a speedy peace with England. We were all lulled in deceitful security, when, at the close of 1811, the differences arose which led to the war with Russia.

CHAPTER X.

Preparations for the war against Russia—I am appointed intendant-general of the army—Organisation of the several branches of the service—Treaty with Prussia for the furnishing of supplies in kind—Proposal of Marshal Davoust for the organisation of the Polish levies—General Barclay de Tolly's plan of defence—Mission of the Count de Narbonne to Wilna—Assembling of the army on the Vistula—Preparations for taking the field—Passage of the Niemen—Disasters caused by the storm—March of the army in Lithuania—Position and situation of the army on the Düna and the Dnieper—March to Smolensk—Battles of Smolensk and Valontina—Pursuit of the Russian army—Battle of the Moskowa—Arrival at Moscow—Burning of Moscow—Stay at Moscow—Negotiations—Preparations for our departure—My illness—Retreat of the army—Battles of Malojaroslawetz—Battle of Wiazma—Stay at Smolensk—Battle of Krasnoe—Passage of the Dnieper—The heroic retreat of Marshal Ney—March to Borisow—Passage of the Beresina—March to Smorgoni—Departure of the Emperor—Arrival at Wilna—March to Kowno—Last disaster at Kowno—Arrival at Gumbinnen—Marshal Ney—Stay at Danzig—Departure for Berlin.

The difficulties of so vast an enterprise as that of supporting the ruinous war in the Peninsula, while he should lead a great French army to the extremity of Europe, in order to attack the Northern Colossus, did not deter Napoleon. Some political observers have supposed that being deeply affected by the reverses which our arms had experienced in Spain and Portugal, he desired to restore their honour and splendour by new victories on another theatre. He believed this offensive war to be necessary to the accomplishment of his designs; he persuaded himself that by this step, he only prevented a coalition more formidable than the preceding, and that he should not force England to make peace, till he had rendered it impossible for her to excite against him a continental war.

Since Napoleon had sent above the half of his best troops to Spain and Portugal, he had been constantly labouring to organise a grand army in Germany, more numerous than any he had yet commanded in person. The corps of Marshal Davoust alone, which was cantoned in the departments of the Elbe, had been increased to eighty thousand men. I had received orders to send the flower of the last conscription to the corps which composed this army. The

search for refractory conscripts, after the expiration of the amnesty which was granted on occasion of the Emperor's marriage, had produced an addition of about fifty thousand men, all belonging to the preceding levies, and from twenty-three to twenty-five years of age. Subaltern officers had been taken from the army in Spain, both for the infantry and the cavalry, and considerable purchases of horses had been made in the kingdom of Westphalia and the departments of the Rhine.

This organisation, these immense preparations, were terminated about the month of February, 1812. I had several times written from the dictation of the Emperor, and I had occasion to admire his inconceivable memory, and the precision with which, without having recourse to the lists, he bore in mind the effective force of the several corps, in order to determine the means of raising them to the complete war establishment, according to their wants. One day, having laid before him a general table which he had desired me to give him, and which he ran through very rapidly, he dictated a distribution of conscripts, founded on this statement of the effective force of all the corps of the army, without once hesitating, and stated the actual force of each of the corps and their position. He walked rapidly up and down, or stood still before the window of his cabinet. He dictated with such rapidity that I had scarcely time to set down the figures clearly, and to indicate by abbreviations the notes which he added. For full half an hour I had not been able to take my eyes from the paper on which I wrote. I had no doubt but that he had before him the general table which I had given him, and when he paused a moment, and I was able to look at him, he perceived and laughed at my surprise. "You thought," said he, "that I was reading your table. I don't want it; I know it all by heart. Let us go on."

At the beginning of March the Emperor sent for me to give him an account of the execution of several measures which he had directed me to take relative to the last levies. He had begun to dictate to me, when suddenly breaking off, he said, "It is my intention that the general intendancy of the army shall be this time organised in a military manner. This is the most important part of the functions of the general staff. It is more than half of the operations of the war, and on a great theatre it is an entire ministerial de-

partment of itself. You shall exercise these functions in the grand army; I shall appoint you intendant-general." I replied, "Sire, I have been so happy as to receive marks of your satisfaction in the post which you have confided to me, and I should fear not to fulfil your views equally, in that to which you destine me. I have not sufficient experience of the details of the different branches of this department, and it seems to me that I should perform more useful service in the army, as I did in the preceding campaigns, in the capacity of aid-major-general, under the Prince of Wagram." "Very well," said he, "you will do what you are ordered."

I went to consult my honourable friend Count Daru, and my old companion in arms, Berthier, both of whom encouraged me to fulfil the wishes of the Emperor, and I very shortly received orders to repair, first to Fulda, and then to Erfurth and Berlin, to organise the several branches of the service.

A few days before my departure, the Emperor sent for me to the Elisée, where I met the Major-General Prince of Wagram and Count Daru, secretary of state. The Emperor told me that he had called us together to give us our instructions on the objects which we should have to attend to, before the opening of the campaign, and principally on the functions which I was to exercise as intendant-general. Before making us sit down at a small round table, placed in the middle of the saloon, he asked me to whom I thought that the direction of the conscription should be confided. I answered that the chief clerk, M. Hagenvilliers, was very capable of filling that office; that he had had the greatest share in drawing up the general instructions, and that he directed the proceedings in the offices with equal activity and punctuality.

"Very well," said he, "but I want a general officer who shall be firm in his transactions with the prefects." In answer to this, I mentioned General Hastrel, brother-in-law to the Duke of Feltre, the minister of war, as the officer best qualified by his knowledge, his experience, and the firmness of his character, to answer the views of the Emperor. He approved this choice, and ordered me to give my portfolio to General Hastrel.

The Emperor then dictated his instructions to us. The sitting lasted four hours, during which Count Daru and

myself did our best to follow the dictation of the Emperor, which was as rapid as a conversation. The major-general did not write any thing, relying on our accuracy. The Emperor almost always walking up and down, and without once interrupting himself, did not appear in the least fatigued. We were quite exhausted. After this interesting and laborious sitting, we passed almost the whole night at my house, in revising and rectifying, by a comparison with each other, our two minutes. These instructions comprehended not only such things as were relative to our functions, but likewise the organisation and the movements of the several corps of the army which was to march through Germany and the Prussian dominions as far as the Vistula.

To this important document the Emperor added a copy of the treaty concluded with Prussia relative to the supplies in kind demanded of that kingdom. These supplies were enormous: for instance, six hundred thousand quintals of corn, forty-four thousand oxen, three thousand wagons, &c. Prussia owed forty-three millions of francs of the contribution, imposed by a separate convention after the peace of Tilsit; but I was forbidden to regulate any account till after the end of the campaign, and there was in the instructions this remarkable phrase: "After this account is settled Prussia will still be in our debt."

Leaving Paris on the 15th of March, I passed through Mainz, and proceeded without stopping to Erfurth, where the commissioners Chambon and Joinville delivered to me the accounts of the supplies which they had provided. After a short stay at Erfurth, I proceeded to Berlin. My first care was to organise my offices, and to divide the work according to the several branches of the service. The Emperor had authorised me to take with me several auditors in the council of state, and especially my son-in-law, the Baron de Saint Didier, prefect of the palace, who was not to be diverted by any service relative to the imperial household, from that which he had to perform under me. I had likewise obtained the appointment of commissary for my cousin Combes, who, as I have before mentioned, performed the office of secretary-general of the conscription and the reviews. He continued to work with me in the distribution of the business in the general correspondence, and besides had the direction of the commissariat department; my account office was superintended by M. Paris, one of the most

able accountants that I ever met with. He had under him an assistant commissary, M. Thirat de Saint Aignant, now master of requests, to whom we are indebted for the establishment of the account office of the war department. I had likewise chosen some assistant commissaries, whose ability and zeal I had particularly noticed.

Provided with the treaty relative to the supplies required of Prussia, which the prime minister, Baron Hardenberg, declared could not be executed, and for which he severely reprimanded, in my presence, the Prussian commissioner who had signed it, I set about carrying it into effect. Baron Hardenberg, sincerely acceded to every thing that I proposed to ensure and regulate the delivery of the supplies, with respect both to place and time. Lieutenant-General Count de Lottum was appointed commissioner, and had orders to accompany me so long as the French army should be in the Prussian territory, and act in concert with me, to effect and to verify the delivery.

While I was employed in these preparations, the corps of the army were marching to proceed to the Vistula; that of Marshal Davoust passed through Prussian Pomerania. I went to Custrin, his head-quarters, having to confer with him relative to the seizure which he had ordered of the cargoes of corn which were in the Vistula, or the canal of Bromberg. These cargoes were claimed by Count Lottum as part of the supplies which were to be delivered to us. Part, however, was the property of merchants, and Count Lottum offered to take them and deliver them to us on account of the six hundred thousand quintals stipulated in the treaty. The confusion occasioned by this seizure, and the protocols which were drawn up by the agents of the French government, gave occasion in the sequel to claims and restitutions, founded upon an article of the treaty of Paris, the result of which was very burdensome to France.

The Marshal Prince of Eckmühl communicated to me the proposal which he had just made to the Emperor Napoleon, to grant to the Polish government a subsidy of 12,000,000 francs, to raise and pay a body of twenty thousand light cavalry. This auxiliary corps would have been furnished at the very beginning of the campaign, over and above the effective force of the Polish corps. There is no doubt that these light troops would have been much better than all the Russian Cossacks. Marshal Davoust

thought that it was the only means to spare and preserve our fine cavalry, and to obtain immense advantages. Napoleon had reason in the sequel deeply to regret that he had not followed such prudent advice. I returned to Berlin, where Marshal Oudinot had just fixed his head-quarters. I accompanied him to Potsdam with the officers of his staff. We were very graciously received by his Prussian Majesty, who after the parade sent us an invitation to dinner. All the royal family were present. The princess royal, now Empress of Russia, was at the King's right hand. We were told that of all the princesses she was the most like the late Queen.

It was difficult not to believe in the sincerity of this kind reception, and in that of the language of the Prussian minister, Baron Hardenberg, who, wearied out with my exorbitant demands, often said to me, "It is in good faith that we enter into your alliance; it may become profitable to us and repair our misfortunes, but you render the burden of the war too heavy for our people; you irritate them; you consume the remainder of our resources; we do more than we are able, and when distress shall have excited insurrections, you will blame us for the mischief which you have done yourselves."

During my stay at Berlin, General Guilleminot, aid-major-general of the grand army, arrived in that city. He was engaged in drawing up a report on the itineraries which he had been instructed to make; one in the direction of Petersburgh, the other in the direction of Moscow. He communicated this report to me. It contained much valuable information respecting the two roads, and we reasoned, on these two suppositions, on the difficulties of such an invasion.

About the same time I had been informed that the counsellor of state, Niebuhr, son of the celebrated Danish traveller, with whom I had been much acquainted during my residence in Holstein, was then in Berlin. I hastened to call upon him, and as we were conversing on the approaching war with Russia, and of the conjectures that might be made of the offensive plans of the Emperor Napoleon, he told me that since he had known that General Barclay de Tolly was commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, he had no doubt that he would carry into effect the plan for a defensive campaign, which he had presented at the time of

the treaty of Tilsit, when, with some other Russian generals, he had opposed making peace. Niebuhr had passed three months at Memel, in constant intercourse with Barclay de Tolly, who, having been severely wounded at Eylau, had been conveyed to Memel, to which the court of Prussia had retired. Niebuhr had perfectly recollected all the details of this plan of combined retreats, by which the Russian general hoped to draw this formidable French army into the heart of Russia, even beyond Moscow, to wear it out; to remove it from the basis of its operations; to make it consume all its resources; sparing those of the Russians, till aided by the rigour of the climate, he should be able to resume offensive operations, and prepare for Napoleon on the banks of the Wolga a second Pultawa. It was a fearful and too just prophecy. It appeared to me so positive and so important, that, on rejoining the imperial head-quarters, I did not fail to communicate it to the Prince of Wagram. I cannot doubt that he related it to the Emperor, but I heard nothing of it, and I took good care not to repeat these gloomy forebodings.*

I had received orders to repair to Posen. Napoleon, who had stopped at Dresden, where he received for the last time the homage of the sovereigns and princes his allies, arrived at Posen a few days afterwards. A faint gleam of pacification had just vanished; the Count de Narbonne, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, had returned from Wilna, bringing from the Emperor of Russia only negative or evasive answers to the proposals which he had been instructed to make and to present as an ultimatum.

The Emperor Napoleon stopped five or six days at Posen while the troops were on their march to the Vistula. He attended to the minutest details of the several branches of the service, and especially every thing relative to the subsistence of the army, the military equipages, and the hospitals; he sometimes sent for me, but, for the most part, and especially in matters concerning the general intendancy, he conferred with his secretary of state Count Daru; the cooperation of that able officer could not but be very useful

* In a conversation with a foreign minister at Hamburgh, while the French army was still in the Prussian territory, we were discussing the probable result of this great expedition, he said; "I ask only one thing, and that is, that whatever happens the Emperor Alexander may hold out till November."—*Tr.*

to me; it was always very agreeable to me and never gave me the slightest umbrage. The Emperor was aware of the entire harmony that subsisted between us. Count Daru was more accustomed than I was to transact business with the Emperor, chiefly with regard to the destination and distribution of the funds. I received the Emperor's orders, either through the major-general or the secretary of state, and did my utmost to have them punctually executed. The rapidity of the marches, the rigour with which the Emperor required that all the branches of the service should be perfectly and completely organised at all the points of the lines of operation, and the hasty abandonment of establishments scarcely formed, multiplied the difficulties in all the branches of the service. The means of conveyance, whether by military equipages belonging to the army, or by others, were almost always insufficient. This immense army sweeping the Prussian dominions like a torrent, consumed all the resources of the country, and could not be followed by the reserved supplies with the celerity that the operations required. I had every reason to commend the zeal and activity of the principal persons under me. The Emperor, who was very impatient, and whose custom it was to strain all the springs to the utmost, and very seldom to appear satisfied, ordered me, when at Thorn, to attend him after the parade, with the chief officers of the several departments of the service. Without stating any fact or any reason, he expressed himself much discontented with the management of the hospitals and military equipages. I felt this reproach, and thought it my duty, in the most respectful, but the most decided terms, to defend the persons under me. This was an act of justice which doubtless displeased the Emperor, but afforded me the means of serving him more effectually.

The imperial head-quarters were transferred to Danzig, where Napoleon, in presence of the Governor-general Rapp, dictated to Count Daru and me new instructions, to secure the due performance of the service on the line of the Pregel, where the army was to assemble.

The head-quarters were next moved from Danzig to Königsberg, where I had much business to transact with Count de Lottum, to regulate, according to our correspondence, the payments which had been made on account of Prussia, in execution of the treaty of the 17th of February;

I had likewise to provide for the water carriage of the supplies, which were to be sent from Danzig, and afterwards from Königsberg, on the canals, and then to go up the Niemen.

The main body of the army, the centre and the left wing, with the grand reserve of cavalry, and the imperial guard, advanced by way of Wehlau and Insterburg to Gumbinnen, the last town on the frontier of East Prussia. The Emperor fixed the point where all this part of the grand army should pass the Niemen, to proceed to Kowno. This passage was executed in the most brilliant and prompt manner, because the enemy opposed only a rear-guard of light troops, which disappeared as soon as the heads of our column showed themselves on the left bank.

This important operation marked the opening of the campaign. You must not expect, my dear son, to find in this part of my memoirs the complete history of these memorable events, but only the outline of those in which I was personally concerned, of the facts of which I was eyewitness, and the manner in which I endeavoured to perform the difficult task which was imposed upon me. The military history of these several operations has not yet been written in an impartial manner, or sufficiently instructive in respect to the art of war. The various accounts which have been published by both parties, are materials which a judicious historian may one day make use of, by comparing them with each other, guided by sound criticism, and new researches. I conceived a plan of such a work, and hope it may be undertaken by an able and conscientious writer. Among these materials, besides the official documents, he may consult, with great advantage, the work of General Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, the history written by M. de Boutourlin, aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, and likewise the narrative of General Philip de Ségur, who did not pretend to write a military history of this campaign, but who has drawn a very lively and faithful picture of the most interesting details. It is especially at the commencement of the campaign that the historian must exert himself, clearly to explain the ensemble, and the developements of the plan of invasion, which the genius of Napoleon had conceived, and which failed of success only through circumstances and faults which, on this vast theatre of war, he could neither prevent by his arrangements, nor repair in

time. The good execution of this admirable plan would indubitably have insured more speedy, more decisive successes than those which Napoleon was forced, as it were, to snatch from fortune by his unshaken firmness, and which, however, might have sufficed to justify his rash enterprise, and to obtain a glorious termination of this war.

I return to the subject to which I must confine myself, and which I might call my itinerary. I followed the army and the imperial head-quarters at the distance of a day's march. As we passed through the forests which border the left bank of the Niemen, we experienced one of the most violent tempests that I ever witnessed. It burst over the bivouacs of the army, which had taken a position two leagues from Kowno, on the road to Wilna; the hurricane, the inundation, the excessive cold which succeeded the storm, caused the army to sustain very great losses. The lightning struck in several parts of the line; three grenadiers of the imperial guard were killed by the lightning close to the Emperor's tent. Roman generals would perhaps have stopped at such an unfavourable omen, and the minds of many of our men were affected by it. The number of the horses which perished in that dreadful night was estimated at 10,000, and the road was covered with their dead bodies. We lost besides a great part of our auxiliary equipages. On this route I sent the bridge equipages, conducted by General Eblé, with the greatest difficulty, through sandy and broken-up roads. I joined his bivouac and passed one evening with that excellent officer. I shall never forget the reflections of this brave general, and his forebodings of the issue of our gigantic expedition.

Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, where the Emperor Alexander had had his head-quarters, was evacuated on the approach of the French army. There were only some insignificant cavalry skirmishes near the town, where we found the remains of considerable magazines which had been set on fire. The Emperor stopped ten days at Wilna, in order to afford time for the corps, which composed the right wing of the army, to advance to Minsk and towards Wolhynia on the lower Beresina. These corps were that of Marshal Davoust, from which two divisions had been withdrawn, the auxiliary Austrian corps, under the command of Prince Schwartzenberg, the Polish corps of Prince

Poniatowsky, and the Saxon corps, commanded by General Reynier. This right wing, the force of which amounted to 80,000 men of all arms, was destined to cut off the corps of Prince Bagration from the centre of the Russian army, and to force it into Wolhynia. It was confided to King Jerome, the Emperor's brother, who had come to Warsaw to take the command of it. Want of union, and delays which the Emperor imputed to his brother, who soon afterwards quitted the army, and returned to his kingdom of Westphalia, hindered the success of this well-conceived movement. If it had been more rapid, and better concerted between the corps of the army, who were to co-operate in it, the object would have been attained, and the success of the campaign decided at the very opening. The activity and ardour of Marshal Davoust could not repair so great a fault. He marched to Minsk and Mohilew, while all the other corps of the right wing pursued too late and in vain, Prince Bagration, who escaped them, passed the Dniester, below Mohilew, with 40,000 men, attacked Marshal Davoust, who had but 20,000, was repulsed, but succeeded in opening for himself the road to Smolensk.

Meantime the left wing of the army, under the command of Marshal Macdonald, composed of the Prussian corps under General Bulow, and of a French division, marched from Königsberg to Riga.

It was known that the centre of the Russian army, or rather the Russian army of the centre, occupied on the Düna a position entrenched with great care; this position, which was naturally very strong, on account of the sinuosity of that river, was only three marches from Wilna. The Emperor prepared to attack it, and caused it to be reconnoitred by a division of cavalry; there was a pretty smart action, during which the Russian army passed the Düna, and ascended the right bank of the river; the Emperor resolved to ascend the left bank, observing the movements of the enemy, and taking the road to Witepsk.

While the head-quarters remained at Wilna, I was engaged in the organisation of the several branches of the service, as well for the movable part, which was to follow with me the main body of the army, and the reserve of the imperial guard, as for the fixed and territorial administration of the several districts of the province of Lithuania, which was the general basis of the different lines of opera-

tion. I proposed to the Emperor the nomination of the auditors of the council of state, who were to exercise in their different districts the functions of intendants. I organised the convoys, which, proceeding either by land or on the lower Niemen, and the river Vilia, one of its chief tributaries, were to bring to Wilna the supplies which we drew principally from East Prussia. After these first general arrangements, I had soon to perform this important part of my functions only by the medium of correspondence. The Emperor, being urged by the government of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and by the principal inhabitants of Lithuania, to organise a provisional government, created a commission, or council, which met at Wilna, and of which the Duke of Bassano was president. He gave to that minister the most extensive powers in every thing that would concern the army and the country; and he could not have confided these interests to better hands. The Duke of Bassano fulfilled this important duty during the whole course of the campaign, and till the last day of the evacution, in the manner most advantageous to the army, and most equitable to the inhabitants of the country.

On the day before his departure from Wilna the Emperor reviewed in person the military equipages, which I had collected on the elevated and open plateau on the north side of the town. During this review there was a very violent storm; the south wind brought an insupportable cadaverous stench, which came from the great number of horses that had died on the road from Kowno to Wilna. We did not observe in the army that gayety which we had always been accustomed to see at the commencement of a campaign. The aspect of the country was cheerless; all appeared gloomy and rude.

The Emperor advanced his head-quarters to Globokoe, three marches from Wilna; finding that this part of the country abounded in corn, he ordered me to form large corn magazines, and to establish a great hospital.

During this time the troops were defiling; he hastened their march, in order to reach Witepsk before the Russian army; but General Barclay de Tolly already occupied the position before that town; his vanguard was at Ostrowo, very advantageously posted at the head of a defile, between woods which bordered the road; this vanguard was vigor-

ously attacked and dislodged, by the corps under the command of the Prince Viceroy of Italy, supported by the reserve of the cavalry of the King of Naples. There was a very smart action, and it was thought that there would be a general battle, on the following day, which the Emperor greatly desired. Our troops advanced within cannon-shot, and there was an engagement with the right wing of the Russian army; the Emperor reconnoitered the position, and made his arrangements for a general attack, but the Russian army evacuated its position and the town of Witepsk during the night. The Emperor placed his head-quarters at Witepsk, and the Russians retreated towards Smolensk.

The grand French army having thus crossed all Lithuania, had now its left at Witepsk on the Düna, and its right, formed by the corps of Marshal Davoust, at Mohilew, Orsha, and Dubrowno on the Dnieper; the interval between the two rivers was only about fifteen or eighteen leagues of an open and well-cultivated country; the whole of that part of Lithuania which lies on the upper Beresina was in our rear, and capable of supplying us with abundant resources; the troops were very much fatigued, the means of conveyance belonging to the army were already disorganised; the cavalry had lost a great number of horses; the heat, which is excessive in this country during the long summer days, occasioned much sickness; the resources for the supply of the hospitals, which can be procured only in the great towns and very populous districts, became scarcer every day. The general position of the French army was very strong in a defensive point of view, because the enemy could not venture to advance between the two rivers, the Düna and the Dnieper, without being attacked on his flanks, and the French cavalry, which was still so fine and numerous, could easily manœuvre in the plains which lay between.

These several motives made the Emperor resolve to stop at Witepsk, to give the general corps of the army time to come up, and take their place in the line, and if it is true that he hesitated about advancing any further, these same motives must necessarily have contributed to his irresolution. It was evident that Barclay de Tolly was executing his plan of retreat, to draw the French army as far as possible into the interior of Russia, in order to weaken it by the want of resources, while he spared his own. He fell back

and abandoned to us, beyond Lithuania, only countries which were depopulated by the flight of the inhabitants, and laid waste by the Russians themselves.

The Emperor stopped twelve days at Witepsk. He ordered me to form large magazines. I had four-and-twenty ovens built, and an account taken of the quantity of corn and cattle which the country could furnish. The harvest had been abundant in the greater part of Lithuania. I employed every means, even the rude hand-mill, to make flour, and had all the points, at which hospitals could be formed, carefully examined. Meantime the Emperor himself studied the means of fortifying Witepsk, by uniting, by strong works, the deep ravine round that little town, and covering it on the right bank by a tête-de-pont. The imperial head-quarters were in the palace of the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Governor of Witepsk. The Emperor, whether he had resolved to remain in this position, or merely wished to encourage such an opinion, made his guard work in enlarging and levelling the place where he reviewed the troops; but, receiving soon afterwards news of the arrival of the corps of Prince Bagration at Smolensk, and of its junction with the army of the centre, under the command of Barclay de Tolly, he resolved to drive the enemy farther, and dislodge him from Smolensk. It might be supposed that he had at present no other fixed plan than that of taking possession of this old fortress. to make it the head of his cantonments, to establish himself on the frontier of Lithuania, and to remain in that position till Marshal Macdonald should have reached Riga, and firmly established himself there.

The Emperor Napoleon having, with the main body of his army, vigorously driven before him the central Russian army, had undoubtedly hoped to fight a decisive battle, before the army of Bagration could reach Smolensk, and Barclay de Tolly would probably have been obliged to fight in his position before Witepsk, if he had not received the news of the arrival of Bagration at Smolensk. This event decided his retreat, and changed the face of affairs. The union of the two Russian armies and their concentration at Smolensk removed all uncertainty. It was indispensable to deprive the enemy of that stronghold.

The army was ordered to advance by a flank movement to Dubrowno, to pass the Dnieper at different points and to march to Smolensk.

I followed the head-quarters to Dubrowno, Lyady, and Krasnoe; the establishments commenced at Witepsk were preserved, the town was entrenched, but not on the grand plan that was first determined on; the approaches to Smolensk were but feebly defended by a division of Prince Bagration's army, who had formed his rear-guard on the right bank of the Dnieper, which after a short engagement was driven into the place by our cavalry. The Emperor being resolved to carry this highly important place by force, caused it to be invested, in proportion as the heads of the columns came up, and settled the plan for the attack on the following day. I was present at this brilliant affair; it was a great battle, because the Russian army obstinately defended the outworks, and being supported by the fresh troops which it drew from the right bank, and its retreat behind these strong and ancient walls being secured, it resisted, at all parts, our reiterated attacks. During the following night the Emperor caused a heavy fire of artillery, especially of howitzers, to be opened; the Russians evacuated the place, set fire to the suburb, which was built of wood, and took a position on the height.

We found Smolensk nearly abandoned by the inhabitants, and destitute of all the resources of which we stood so much in need, especially for establishing hospitals. We had a great number of wounded, which was increased by the action of Volontina, three days after our arrival at Smolensk. The more the army advanced into the interior of the country, the more difficult did my task become. The country was laid waste by the enemy; the dwellings were abandoned, and for the most part burnt. "*The war could not feed the war*,"* as in the fertile provinces of Germany; the establishments which we had formed were already too far off; the convoys, which it was so difficult to organise, were already insufficient. The zeal and activity of my assistants in the corps of the army could not create resources which were every where wanting for the several branches of the service. If he Emperor could have stopped at Smolensk, the penury with which we were threatened, and which could not fail to increase, might have been repaired; a better system of collecting and convoying supplies might have

* *La guerre ne pouvait nourrir la guerre* is the characteristically French expression.—*Tr.*

been introduced. But we were already hurried along; the retreat of the Russian army was decided; the plan of General Barclay de Tolly continued to be executed, notwithstanding the discontent and the murmurs of the soldiers and the generals, who felt humiliated at seeing whole provinces abandoned without fighting, and the grand French army allowed to penetrate into the heart of the empire. These discontents induced the Emperor Alexander to give the chief command of the Russian army to General Kutusow. Barclay de Tolly continued to command, under the old generalissimo, the army of the north, forming the right wing, and Prince Bagration took the command of the army of the south, forming the left wing.

I feel it necessary to repeat here, that I do not pretend to write, even in the most concise manner, the history of this memorable campaign; I note only the principal events, and confine myself to the account of the part which I took in them, in the performance of the functions which were confided to me. I have just observed that the unfortunate result of the combat of Volontina, and the great number of wounded who were conveyed to Smolensk, increased my embarrassment. The King of Naples, who, with the vanguard, pursued and closely pressed the rear-guard of the enemy, found himself more seriously engaged than he could have expected. A reinforcement of some divisions brought by Prince Constantine stopped him, and obliged him to fight in a very disadvantageous position. The Wurtemberg division, which formed the right of the French line, persisted in keeping its position on this side of a ravine, instead of passing through it to reach the enemy; this want of union obliged the King of Naples to make a vigorous effort to dislodge the right of the Russian line, and force it to retreat; it was there that General Gudin, one of the most distinguished officers of the French army, was mortally wounded. I was extremely intimate with him, and had the painful duty of rendering him the last military honours in the little citadel of Smolensk, where his remains were interred.

Supposing that the first design of Napoleon had been to stop at Smolensk, and, as I have said above, to confine himself to the conquest of Lithuania, and part of the Duchy of Courland, this project was abandoned after the affair of

Volontina; and the army was put in march in pursuit of the enemy in the direction of Moscow.

In the ten or twelve marches after leaving Smolensk, I kept as near the imperial head-quarters as I possibly could, sometimes going beyond them, and sometimes obliged to remain behind. I often joined my bivouac with that of Count Daru, and we were together, a little in the rear of the Emperor, on the day before the battle of the Moskowa. The enemy, having continued his retreat in good order, had made but a slight resistance to the eager pursuit of the cavalry of our vanguard; and as he avoided coming to any serious action, it was evident that he was concentrating his forces, and taking a position. The Emperor Napoleon, who saw his resources and the effective strength of his army decrease in proportion as he advanced further into these vast devastated plains, desired to overtake the enemy, and fight a general and decisive battle, which should open to him the road to the capital.

General Kutusow having resolved to fight in the advantageous position which he had chosen at Borodino, on the river Kolokscha, had spread the centre and the left wing of the Russian army on the heights which commanded the right bank, and in all that part of the line of battle, the access to which was rendered difficult by a ravine and thickets, he had erected redoubts furnished with artillery. One of these redoubts, which was the most advanced, near a wood, towards the commencement of the ravine, formed the support of his left. The Emperor Napoleon having come in sight of the enemy, had his tents and the bivouac of his guard on an elevated spot opposite the village of Borodino. While his columns debouched, and formed a line parallel to the position of the Russian army, the Emperor himself reconnoitered the position in the minutest detail. He judged at a glance that the redoubt erected in front of the wood, and which flanked the whole Russian line, was the true key of the entrenched position; he immediately caused it to be attacked by the division of General Compans, whose measures were attended with the most brilliant success. The redoubt, which was occupied by a strong force, was attacked, and carried with cries of "Vive l'Empereur."

Napoleon passed the greater part of the following night in giving orders to the generals commanding the several corps of the army, for the execution of the plan which he had

laid down for the attack. At daybreak Count Daru and myself left our bivouac to attend the Emperor, who was a little in advance of the redoubt, which had been so bravely carried by General Compans.

As soon as the Emperor had given the signal, the French columns debouched under the protection of the batteries placed on the line of the advanced posts. The circumstances of this great battle are well known from the official accounts and the several commentaries of the writers of both parties. I shall only relate what passed under my own eyes and within reach of my observation. During the whole of this day I was near the Emperor, leaving him only at intervals to visit the most advanced ambulances, (field-hospitals,) and to provide for the first relief to be given to the numerous wounded. We observed the progress of the attacks of Marshal Ney, of the King of Naples, and of the Viceroy. I went to the point of the wood, where the corps of Marshal Davoust, which was ready to debouch, suffered severely from the enemy's fire. It was there that my brave friend Louis Romœuf was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball.

General Montbrun, who a few instants before had come to take the Emperor's orders, having been mortally wounded, General August Caulaincourt was directed to take his place, in the attack of cavalry upon the great redoubt, which was the centre of the Russian army. The imperial guard, which was in battle array behind us, expected every moment to receive orders to support the attacks of Marshal Ney, and of the King of Naples. The officers conversed in whispers, expressing various opinions respecting the situation and the probable issue of the battle. A proposal was made to the Emperor to turn the wood and the ravine which were upon our right; Marshal Davoust insisted upon this movement, which it was said might insure the defeat of the left wing of the Russians, and cut off its retreat along the old road of Mojaisk. It was near three o'clock in the afternoon. The Emperor remained motionless, generally seated on the edge of a ditch, and sometimes walking a few paces to the right or the left. A messenger came to inform him that General Caulaincourt had been killed when approaching, at the head of the fifth regiment of cuirassiers, the great redoubt, where the Russians in vain made attempts to maintain their ground.

Towards five o'clock the Russian army was retreating at every point. The young guard alone had been sent forward to support the troops of Marshal Ney. Our batteries had gained great advantages, and the whole French line was already beyond the redoubts on the back of the position. The Emperor mounted his horse about half-past six o'clock, and went directly to the great redoubt, passing over the field of battle, which was strewn with the slain, from the bank of the river Kolokscha to the extreme right. After having accompanied him over the greater part of the field, I returned to the great field hospital to which all the French or Russian wounded, who could be collected on the field of battle, were sent by every kind of conveyance which we had at hand.

It has been frequently asserted that Napoleon did not display his usual activity on this day. His apparent indifference has excited astonishment; it has been intimated that he laboured under bodily exhaustion; that he was not able to call into action all the resources of his genius; in short, that his star began to grow dim, even in the midst of victory. Napoleon certainly appeared to be indisposed; he had undergone excessive fatigue during the two preceding nights, which he had employed in reconnoitering in person the positions of the enemy, in placing the corps of the army, and in determining the point of attack. Having formed his plans to compel the enemy to abandon their strong position, he would not consent to make any change in the arrangements which he had resolved upon after profound consideration. He placed himself at a short distance from his right wing, against which it was probable that the Russian general would direct his principal effort, in order to take our attacking columns in the rear, while they should be stopped by the fire of the redoubts. The station which Napoleon had chosen was in fact the best point of observation. It commanded a view of the whole field of battle, and if any manœuvre, any partial success of the enemy had required new measures, the vigilance of Napoleon would not have failed to meet the urgency of the case. He would have gone to the spot in person as he did at the battle of Wagram.

About nine o'clock in the evening Count Daru and myself were summoned to the Emperor. His bivouac was in the middle of the square battalion of his guard, a little behind

the redoubt. His supper had just been served; he was alone, and made us sit down at his right and left hand. After having heard the account of the measures taken for the relief of the wounded, and of the scanty resources afforded by the Abbey of Koloskoi, situated on the road, two leagues from the field of battle, and by a few dwellings in the environs of the village of Borodino, he spoke to us of the issue of the battle; a moment afterwards he fell asleep for about twenty minutes: then suddenly waking, he continued thus: "People will be astonished that I did not bring up my reserves to obtain more important results, but it was necessary to keep them, in order to strike a decisive blow, in the great battle which the enemy will offer us before Moscow: the success of the day was secured; I had to think of the success of the campaign, and it is for that that I keep my reserves."

On leaving the Emperor's tent, I again visited the great field hospital, and then went to the castle about half a league from the field of battle, to which my friends General Romœuf and General Montbrun had been conveyed. Romœuf, who was already very weak, showed me the hilt of his sword, which the ball had flattened against his hip; the contusion was frightful; my unfortunate friend still entertained great hopes, but the surgeons did not give me any, and he expired a few moments after I had left him. I likewise bade farewell to the brave Montbrun, who breathed his last under the same roof.

On the following day, the 8th of September, the King of Naples with his cavalry continued to pursue the Russian army, which was rapidly retreating. There was a pretty smart action with the enemy's rear-guard before the little town of Mosaisk, which was quickly evacuated by the enemy; the Emperor transferred his quarters to this town, which was full of Russian wounded, whom it had not been possible to remove; in these little hospitals there were as many dead bodies as living patients; the greatest confusion prevailed in them, and the most dreadful scarcity of every thing necessary. You may conceive the increase of misery and calamities accumulated in this spot by the addition of our wounded. Our losses were immense, and the more painful, as all our efforts and solicitude could not create in these deserted plains sufficient resources to save from death so many mutilated brave men.

It was at Mosaisk, and in the Emperor's presence, that

an altercation and almost a quarrel took place between the King of Naples and Marshal Davoust. The latter, blaming the manner in which Murat, by pursuing the enemy's rear-guard, fatigued and destroyed our fine cavalry, to which the enemy opposed only his light troops, proposed to the Emperor to allow this precious reserve to take some repose, and to let him form the vanguard, and pursue the enemy with his infantry. "Do you think," said the Emperor to the Marshal, "that the King of Naples has not manifested sufficient ardour?" "A great deal too much," replied Davoust, and certainly he was in the right. It is probable that if his advice had been followed, the enemy being more closely pressed than could be done under these circumstances by the cavalry, would have been overtaken, and not have been able to conceal his movements, and get upon our right flank, as he did a few days afterwards.

We were no more than three short marches from the great capital. Napoleon, on the point of attaining his object, the last scene, and the denouement of the campaign, hastened the movement of the corps of the army. Being obliged to follow the imperial head-quarters, it was a painful duty for me to leave behind, in the environs of the field of battle, so great a number of wounded, between four and five thousand, with so little of what was necessary for their relief. Our field hospitals were nearly exhausted, and yet we had to anticipate the results of another battle, and be sparing of the scanty means which we had still left to provide for them.

When we arrived before Moscow, we found the mountain called the Sparrow's-hill, covered with unfinished entrenchments, which the Russian generals had doubtless intended to defend; but this position, as well as the capital, had been abandoned, and the hopes of a battle, to which the Emperor had looked forward as a second victory, vanished.

The Emperor stopped in the suburb of Moscow, on the bank of the Moskwa; the King of Naples penetrated to the Kremlin, of which he took possession, after expelling several thousands of armed peasants who had taken refuge in it. The Emperor then ordered Count Daru and me to go into the city after the vanguard, in order to ascertain the state of things, and to make a report to him on the following day. He prohibited every other person from entering the city.

Night drew near; when we penetrated into that vast and magnificent solitude, scarcely did a few individuals of the lower class show themselves here and there, as the troops of the King of Naples passed. We crossed the Kremlin, the square of the Bazar, and the street leading to the square of the palace of the government. The advanced posts of the light cavalry of the King of Naples had pushed some hundred paces further to the boulevard; a numerous post of infantry was stationed in the square before the palace of the government. The last rear-guard of the Russians still held the northern suburb.

The night was fine; the unclouded beams of the moon illumined those fine edifices, those vast palaces, those desert streets, in which reigned the silence of the tomb. We sought long for some person of whom we might make some inquiries, and at length we met with a professor of the academy, and some Frenchmen who had concealed themselves during the confusion attending the evacuation of the city. These individuals related to us all that had passed during the last few days, and could not make us comprehend this sudden disappearance of a population of three hundred thousand souls. We entered some palaces, all the doors of which were open. Towards midnight we chose our night's lodging in this same quarter of the government, which appeared to be the central part of this immense city. I took up my abode in a palace at one of the corners of the square, which I was told belonged to the Countess of Mockanow. It was a large house, built of hewn stone; the style of the architecture was indifferent, but the internal arrangement was very convenient, and it was very well fitted up. In the kitchens underground I found two *Mondjicks*, or slaves, who showed me the apartments; every thing was in as good order as if the family had been expected; in the drawing-room which was preceded by two others, there was a round table, on which the ladies' embroidery-work was still lying; not the most trifling piece of furniture was out of its place; the keys were still in the drawers in a very handsome bed-chamber. I learned afterwards that all the linen and the most valuable effects had been deposited in a cellar; among other valuables, there were two busts of the Emperor and Empress concealed in casks of honey. I took the keys of this cellar into my own possession, that nothing might be taken away. In the coach-houses

there were five or six new carriages in very good condition.

I had scarcely thrown myself on my bed when I heard the post in the square cry "Alert! to arms! fire!" I learnt that a fire had just broken out at the Exchange, near the Kremlin, behind the Bazar; I immediately repaired to the spot, and saw that very little could be done to check the progress of the flames, which were already extending to the galleries or colonnades round the Bazar. There can be no doubt that hired incendiaries had begun at that moment to execute the order which had been given them by the Governor Count Rostopchin to set fire to this noble capital.

The Emperor Napoleon arrived on the following day, and fixed his head-quarters in the imperial palace of the Kremlin; the imperial guard was lodged in the vast palaces of the senate, and in the other buildings contained in the Kremlin. My first care was to ascertain what provisions for the subsistence of the army might be found in the public magazines and in private houses. I caused the magazines which line the quay between the Kremlin and the foundling-hospital to be opened in my presence; the barrels and sacks of flour and groats in these magazines were estimated at about forty thousand hundred weight, a valuable resource which might have sufficed for a short stay. I hastened to visit the hospitals, which were already crowded with the sick and wounded of the Russian army. The most considerable of these establishments, situated at the extremity of the city near the summer-palace, appeared to me to be in a dreadful state of neglect; every thing was wanting, and death made horrible ravages; the dead bodies cast into the street lay round the wall, objects of horror and compassion. Other hospitals, such as those of Gallitzin and Sheremetow, were in a better condition; several Russian officers had been received into them, and room was reserved for ours. The fitting up of hospitals was my principal occupation, as well to find suitable buildings, as to collect as far as possible, every thing necessary for those establishments. I was well seconded by the zeal and activity of our boards and their agents, but our efforts were too often insufficient, and too often vain. The number of the sick and wounded brought from the field of battle amounted to nearly six thousand.

The fire at the Exchange had consumed all the buildings

round the Bazar; every moment we received information of some new fire; it was not possible to doubt that the entire destruction of the capital had been contemplated and prepared. No exertions, however prompt and active, could stop in the several quarters of the city the progress of the fire. Some incendiaries, men who had escaped from the prisons, were pursued and arrested, and speedy justice was done on them; but on the following day the fire was seen to break out on all sides, and principally in those parts where the wind might cause it to spread with the greatest rapidity, On the third day the fire-brands, borne by a violent northwest wind, set fire to one of the towers or pavilions of the Kremlin adjoining the arsenal, where Lariboissière, commander-in-chief of the artillery, had caused the ammunition of the artillery of the guard to be deposited. The Emperor ordered his guard to be employed in checking the progress of the fire. He persisted, however, in remaining in the Kremlin, which was already surrounded with flames, and where the dense smoke made it almost impossible to breathe; it was not till the evening of the third day that he resolved to leave Moscow, and transfer his head-quarters to the imperial palace of Petershoff, about a league from the outer circuit of the city, or the wooden town (*Ville de bois*).* He then gave orders for the city to be evacuated. Count Daru and myself, on being informed of this order, and not knowing that the Emperor was gone, went to the Kremlin, which we did not reach without considerable difficulty. We there found Marshal Duroc, who had stayed till the last, and was mounting his horse to follow the Emperor. It was with much trouble that we returned to our quarters. As we proceeded along the quay, our horses could scarcely bear the heat produced by the fire; that of Count Daru, who followed me, hesitated to pass the only issue that was left us between two houses which were burning furiously.

I was not able to stop at the foundling-hospital, the care of which, and the preservation of the magazines, I had confided to my friend Combes. I sent an orderly to him with instructions to leave the city by another way, which was still free, with the two companies of the young guard, which were stationed there, and placed at his disposal. But

* The author means the Semlanoigorod, or earthen town, so called from its earthen ramparts.—*Tr.*

being persuaded that by destroying the wooden fences he should be able to preserve that fine establishment, as well as the magazines, he persisted in remaining, and by this devotedness merited the office of intendant-commissary, which the Emperor conferred on him some days afterwards as a proof of his satisfaction.

It was night before I was able to quit the house which I occupied. We left Moscow under a real rain of fire. The wind was so violent, that it carried to a great distance the ironplates, which were torn from the roofs and made red-hot by the flames. The feet of our horses were burnt. It is impossible to form an idea of the confusion which prevailed in this precipitate evacuation. The noise of the fire resembled the roaring of the waves; it was truly a tempest in an ocean of fire. The whole road to Petershoff was covered with fragments of different kinds, especially with broken bottles, which our soldiers had thrown about. We bivouacked on the skirts of a little wood, from which we could behold this frightful spectacle—the image of hell. That immense city was nothing but a plain of fire; the heavens and the entire horizon appeared to be in flames, and I was able at the distance of three quarters of a league to read the orders which were brought me from the major-general.

On the following day, the head-quarters were established in the country-houses round the palace; all the troops were assembled in the environs of Petershoff, with the exception of two divisions of the corps of Marshal Davoust that remained in the suburbs of Moscow. We hoped to receive orders to march on the road to Petersburg, on which we were. I was one of those who considered this horrible conflagration as a fortunate event, if it could decide our retreat; whatever the difficulties might be, they seemed to me to be smaller or less dangerous than the prolongation of our stay at Moscow; and I was much astonished when I heard that the Emperor had just ordered the major-general and the Count de Narbonne, to go themselves to the east part of the city, where the ravages of the fire had been less extensive, and examine the fine summer-palace which had been preserved. This order clearly indicated the fatal resolution which the Emperor had taken to return to Moscow, instead of falling back to the frontier of Lithuania,

and going to meet his reinforcements and supplies, before the Russians should be able to harass his retreat.

In fact, the Russian army, after having been defeated at Borodino, had passed through Moscow and disappeared so rapidly before us, that we had, as it were, lost all traces of it in the direction of the east. We had ceased to combat, as if this mass of forces had been dispersed. Meantime Marshal Kutusow had changed his direction, and had posted himself on our right flank, in order to cover the establishments at Kaluga, particularly the manufactory of arms. He had chosen a position which enabled him to receive from the rear the reinforcements which were promised him, and to interrupt by his left wing our line of operations between Smolensk and Moscow. It would have been very easy for the Emperor Napoleon, if he had thought fit, to retreat by the northern road, after evacuating Moscow, to gain two marches in that new direction. Whatever difficulties we might have met with on a road which had not yet been explored, they would have been much less than on our old line of operations, which was exhausted by the passage and the ravages of the two armies. It was decreed otherwise; Napoleon formed other designs, because he had conceived other hopes.

The fine palace which the Emperor intended to inhabit was burnt during the night after the major-general and the Count de Narbonne had gone over it; as it was at the extremity of the city, isolated, and surrounded by gardens, there was no doubt that the incendiaries had received orders to set it on fire. On the following day nothing remained but the ashes of that vast edifice, and of its costly furniture.

Napoleon, returning to the imperial palace of the Kremlin, took various measures which indicated his intention to prolong the stay of the army in Moscow.

The King of Naples, with the reserve of cavalry and a part of the infantry of the corps of the Viceroy of Italy, observed the Russian army at the distance of three marches from Moscow, towards the south and south-east. In these respective positions the advantage was entirely on the side of the Russians in proportion as the bad season drew near. They suffered us to consume considerable resources which the pillage of the ruins of Moscow still afforded. These resources were soon exhausted; forage became scarce, and

when it was necessary to seek it at the distance of more than two leagues, swarms of Cossacks rendered the operation every day more difficult and more dangerous. General Kutusow, motionless in his camp, took great care to attempt nothing; only some detachments thrown upon our line of communication obstructed the arrival of the convoys. The Russian generals affected great confidence; they considered themselves to be as it were in a state of armistice. There were communications between the two armies: first, through the medium of the King of Naples, and afterwards, by means of the mission confided to the Emperor's aide-de-camp, General Lauriston.

The situation of our army became every day more distressing. The search for means of subsistence, the pillage of the ruins left by the fire, especially of the cellars, in which there was still a quantity of wine and spirituous liquors, contributed to relax discipline; some thousands of Russian peasants, prisoners let loose, and for the most part incendiaries, prowled about the city. It required nothing less than the vigilance and firmness of General Durosnel, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, to whom the government of Moscow was confided, to maintain the military police, and prevent greater disorders. I have already said that my attention was directed above all things to our hospitals; I continued to have all the wounded brought to Moscow whom I was able to have removed from the hospitals on the field of battle of the Moskowa, which was still crowded with them.

The treasure of the army (about twelve millions in gold and silver coin) was not the least of our embarrassments; and as I foresaw that we should have great difficulty in finding means to remove it, I hastened the settlement of the accounts of the pay that was due, as well as the indemnities, for losses. About the 10th of October I had made out these accounts for a sum of about four millions, and requested the Emperor's permission to pay it. Count Daru approved and seconded my proposal; but we could not induce the Emperor to allow these payments to be made; he wished to preserve this resource.

It is impossible to explain Napoleon's pertinacity in prolonging the stay of the army in the centre of Russia, amidst the smoking ruins of the ancient capital, except by supposing that he was nearly certain of the speedy conclusion of

peace. It is impossible to believe that such a genius, so profound a politician, should have depended solely on the overtures which he had caused to be made to General Kutusow; it is more probable that he was negotiating at St. Petersburg, and that it was there that his hopes were defeated by the ascendancy and the intrigues of the English party. The mildness and serenity of the beginning of the autumn doubtless contributed to dispel the apprehensions that he might have entertained respecting the difficulties of a retreat. Perhaps he was ill informed respecting the situation of the Russian army, which he believed to be weakened and dispirited, whereas it was receiving powerful reinforcements. Lastly, he depended on the *points d'appui* of Smolensk and Witepsk.

However this may be, Napoleon acted as if the war was to terminate at Moscow. The removal of the trophies, of which he stripped the Kremlin, sufficiently proves this unfortunate conviction. I was one day alone with the Prince of Wagram, in the balcony of the apartment of the Empress, which he occupied, and which was at a great height above that of the Emperor. We observed the fruitless efforts of the workmen, under the direction of the engineers, to loosen from the dome of the principal church the immense cross called Ivan's cross, which was an object of the veneration and admiration of the Russians, who believed it to be of solid gold, (it was of copper, overlaid with several plates of gold.) As this cross could not be pulled down without destroying the key-stone of the cupola, into which it was inserted to a great depth, it was resolved to get it off by sawing and filing; it fell with great noise on the ground, and was afterwards taken to pieces, and carefully packed up to be conveyed to Paris. The intention of the Emperor was to have it put together again, and placed in the cupola of the church which was building near the Louvre, opposite the Museum. The major-general, afflicted and indignant at this impolitic spoliation, said to me, "Is it possible to do such a thing with peace in one's pocket?"

I state the very expressions of the major general, who would not have ventured this indiscretion, even in the intimacy of friendship, had he not been convinced that the bases of the negotiation were already laid down. This hope was soon destroyed either by the accounts from St. Petersburg, or by those which General Lauriston brought

from the Russian camp. A few days afterwards, about the 14th of October, I received orders to hasten, by all possible means, the removal to Smolensk of all our wounded who might be in a condition to bear the journey. I was directed to employ for this purpose all the carriages of the army. On the 15th or 16th, when I was at the levee, the Emperor, stopping before me, said, "Well, Mr. Intendant-General, are almost all our wounded gone?" "No, sire," I replied, "there are still above four thousand of them at Moscow." He appeared to be very much dissatisfied with my answer, and went on without saying any more. Marshal Duroc, who was at my side, pressed my hand and said, "Very well, General; it is with such frankness that the Emperor is properly served."

On quitting the Emperor's levee I mounted my horse, and visited almost all the hospitals; this tour fatigued me extremely, and I returned home in a violent perspiration; and as I was hastening to go and change my dress, I was stopped in the saloon by what we called the French colony, that is to say, French families settled in Moscow, who had been thrown into despair by the report of the speedy departure of the army. All wanted to accompany us, and most of them were destitute of the means. I could not but listen to their complaints, and attend to their requests. As the cold was already very sharp, I felt myself chilled and frozen to the heart. An hour afterwards I was seized with a violent fever, and a stitch in the side. Baron Desgenettes, chief physician to the army, declared that my complaint was an inflammation of the lungs, and reported to the Emperor that I was not in a condition to be removed. General Lauriston and the Count de Narbonne came to see me, and informed me of the surprise and attack of the vanguard of the King of Naples, and of the order given by the Emperor for the speedy departure of the army. I was told that I was to be removed to the Kremlin, where Marshal Motier, the Duke of Treviso, was to remain with his corps to form the rear-guard.

Notwithstanding the severe pain which the slightest motion, and even the most gentle touch gave me, I insisted on accompanying the army. Baron Desgenettes, finding that he could not divert me from this resolution, determined to accompany me in the carriage, in order to give me the benefit of his care, which I accepted with the most lively

gratitude.** When I was placed in my travelling-carriage (*dormeuse*), I spat or rather vomited blood, but the acute pain and burning fever were less insupportable than the idea of remaining in this condition in the hands of the Russians, amidst the ruins of Moscow. After the first bivouac, and during the second march, I became worse and in great danger. Dr. Laubert, chief apothecary to the army, who was equally esteemed for his talents and his honourable character, was constantly near my carriage, visited me often, and consulted with Baron Desgenettes; the only remedy which could be administered was frequent draughts of gum-arabic, sugar, and orange-flower, in water which could not even be warmed during the march. My son-in-law, Baron de Saint Didier, my friend Combes, and all the persons belonging to my department, paid me the greatest attention. The cold had suddenly increased to 16° or 17°; I did not feel it, and they were afraid to let me breathe the open air. Dr. Laubert proposed to apply to my side a large blister which he had prepared. Baron Desgenettes opposed this proposal, because he did not think that it would be possible to take it off and dress it. He yielded, however, to the urgent representations of Dr. Laubert, and decided that whatever might be the effect of the blister, it should not be uncovered. Twenty-four hours after the application I felt relieved, and nature did the rest.

The equipages of the head-quarters being obliged to stop in a village on the same day as the battle of Malojaroslawetz, I was conveyed to a small hut, where a bed was prepared for me. I was extremely weak, and able to enjoy a few hours' rest. It was at the very moment that the Emperor and his staff, hastening to the field of battle, were encompassed by a body of Cossacks who had got into the rear; we were then almost surrounded, but were soon relieved by a division of infantry which took a position beyond the village, and was soon afterwards supported by some squadrons of the reserve of the cavalry.

The fate of the grand army was decided at Malojaroslawetz: though the advantage in this sanguinary battle was on the side of the corps of Prince Eugene, Napoleon refrained from pursuing the Russian army, which fell back on its reinforcements towards Kaluga, and thought it better to take the old road of the army by way of Ghiaz and Wiasma; this counter-march delayed for two days the

retreat towards Smolensk. We might have taken an intermediate road to reach Smolensk, by way of Elnia, but the Emperor doubtless thought that by taking a route too near the Russian army, he should give General Kutusow' too great an advantage to attack us in flank.

On the second day of this retrograde march we passed over the field of battle of the Moskowa. I had always before me the map of Russia, which was sufficiently correct with respect to the courses of the rivers, and as these were sufficient to enable me to conjecture the respective movements of the two armies, according to the configuration of the ground, which I could presuppose with a great degree of probability, I was filled with gloomy forebodings by the numerous obstacles which we should have to encounter, and the advantages which the enemy must have over us in consequence of these very obstacles, and of the facility which they would have to set upon our left flank, and to reach and intercept our line of retreat.

A little before we arrived on the field of Borodino, and at the moment when Marshal Mortier, after having blown up the Kremlin, joined the army with his rear-guard, my carriage was very near the suite of the Emperor. The major-general came to inquire about my health; he told me that his Majesty had appointed Count Daru to perform my duties as intendant-general, and that I was to think only of the recovery of my health. By the reflection of the looking-glass which was before my couch, I perceived the gesture of my old friend as he left me, thinking that he was bidding me an eternal farewell. I was extremely debilitated, but I felt that the crisis was past, and that I was believed to be in greater danger than I really was. The knowledge and the conversation of Baron Desgenettes gave me confidence. Thus I continued, in company with the equipages of the head-quarters, to follow the army as far as Smolensk, almost always bivouacking. It was only at Wiasma that I could be taken from my carriage, to pass the night in a half-ruined house, in the midst of the fire which consumed the rest of that little town.

We stopped three days at Smolensk, certainly much too long; the Emperor desired to wait till the Prince Viceroy, who had turned to the right from Dorogobusch in order to endeavour to take the road to Witepsk, and who in this fruitless attempt had been forced to abandon the greater

part of his artillery, should have fallen back on Smolensk. The cold was from 18° to 20° of Reaumur.

It was during this fatal stay that we were informed of the daring and singular conspiracy of General Maillet. Though this abortive plot had been speedily put down, yet the temerity of the attempt, and its short success at the commencement, struck Napoleon, and made him sensible of the necessity of quitting the army as soon as he could do so with safety, and of hastening to Paris to revive the spirits of the people by his presence, and create by the ascendancy and the resources of his genius the means of repairing such unexpected reverses.

Napoleon had given orders to general Baraguay d'Hilliers to occupy in force with his division the important point of Elnia, a branch of the Kaluga road. He was very much dissatisfied that that General had suffered himself to be anticipated, and had exposed the brigade of infantry commanded by Marshal Augereau, which was very roughly handled there. This circumstance, which laid open the flank of the French army, and our forced stay at Smolensk had given the enemy time and means to cut off our retreat between Smolensk and Orsha. Krasnoe, which the enemy was able to reach before us, was to be the Pultawa of the grand French army. The Emperor proceeded to it with the imperial guard; the equipages of the head-quarters followed him next day. The corps of the Prince Viceroy, of Marshal Davoust, and lastly of Marshal Ney, were to follow, leaving an interval of half a march between them. The main body of the Russian army marched parallel to the road along the left bank of the Dnieper, at the distance of one or two leagues; the destruction of the several corps of our army, which was already much reduced, appeared to be inevitable. We bivouacked half way between Krasnoe and Smolensk; the cold was excessive, the country was covered with snow; our horses could scarcely overcome the smallest inequality of the ground; the Cossacks harassed us at every turn; they overtook us three or four leagues from Krasnoe, carried off several carriages belonging to the head-quarters, and among them that with the Emperor's maps, &c. I lost in this alarm my carriage with the best horses, in which I had put Felix my valet-de-chambre, my most valuable effects, and some provisions, of which we had

great need. Felix happily escaped, and hastened to my carriage to inform me, and rescue me from this danger by making my horses gallop till my carriage reached the head of the column, where a company of the young guard stood firm and stopped the Cossacks.

On the same evening we met with greater difficulty; a stream, the banks of which were very steep, obliged us again to bivouac. It was not till the following morning that we were able to pass the defile, and to ascend, with great difficulty on account of the ice, the plateau on which the little town of Krasnoe is situated. The vanguard of the Russian army had already debouched from the woods; pieces of cannon mounted on sledges were placed in battery, within half cannon-shot of the road, and fired on every thing that passed between the stream and the town. Some pieces of cannon were placed along the road to oppose them, and in this manner the equipages of the head-quarters reached Krasnoe. I alighted at the lodging of the commissary, stationed at this post, and was very happy to find for myself and my companions a resting-place, where we were indeed crowded, but at least under shelter.

We stopped there twenty-four hours, because the Emperor thought fit to wait with his reserve till the corps of the army, posted at intervals between Krasnoe and Smolensk, were connected together so as to support each other. But the corps of the Russian vanguard had already intercepted the route; the Prince Viceroy after a brisk attack reached Krasnoe only by making a detour to the right, and concealing its march from the enemy by favour of the night. Marshal Davoûst was relieved by the attack the Emperor caused to be made on the corps which was nearest to Krasnoe. This attack was executed with much spirit and success by the young guard, under the command of General Durosnel. This offensive movement disconcerted that of the enemy by dividing their attention.

It was during this attack that the head-quarters set out to proceed to Lyadi; we were already outstripped by the Cossacks, who kept up a constant cannonade on the village of Krasnoe. Just as I was lifted into my carriage, the commissary who had received me in his lodging was killed by a cannon-ball in the room which I had that moment left. A quarter of a league from Krasnoe, the column,

whilst passing through a village, was exposed to a brisk cannonade; we lost some men and some horses. I avoided this confusion by turning from the village across the fields.

From Lyadi, where the imperial guard overtook us in the evening, we went to Dobrowno, a pretty considerable town where we found tolerable accommodations for a few hours; our short repose was disturbed during the night by a false alarm. On the following day the head-quarters, the imperial guard, and the corps of the Prince Viceroy and Marshal Davoust, proceeded pell-mell, and in the most frightful disorder, to reach Orsha, on the right bank of the Dnieper, just at the bend of the river, which runs from east to west from Smolensk to Orsha, and then takes at Mohilew a direction from north to south.

This march, or rather this route, was the most afflicting scene that can strike the eyes of a French soldier. It was painful to see the Emperor on horseback with difficulty making his way through the crowd of soldiers, the greater number of whom were disarmed, and kept no order nor rank. A sudden thaw increased the embarrassments of this day: the greater part of the infantry passed the Dnieper on the floating ice, which was already under water, while the horses and carriages went over the bridge. The Russians did not pursue the main body of the French army beyond Dobrowno, and directed all their efforts to cut off the corps of Marshal Ney, which was the last that left Smolensk, and formed our rear-guard. We were in great pain for the fate of those brave men; it seemed impossible that the Marshal should not be surrounded and overwhelmed by numbers; the Emperor stopped at Orsha, where we found some resources; the remnants of the corps of the army, whose losses both in men and *materiel* were immense, were rallied and re-organised as far as it was possible. We learnt that the intrepid Marshal Ney, who had with him only five or six thousand men, had had the boldness to attack the Russian army, notwithstanding its force, at least ten times greater than his own, and its advantageous position, and that after this heroic combat being in vain summoned to lay down his arms, he had resolved to perish with the handful of brave men he had left rather than capitulate in the open field. He had made during the night a retrograde march on his right, passed the Dnieper, and continued his retreat

through the enemy's corps, which had got before him on the opposite bank.

The Prince Viceroy, at the head of fifteen hundred men, marched to meet and support Marshal Ney, who, with two thousand men that remained of his division, joined the head-quarters at Orsha. This is one of the most memorable exploits of all that have shed a lustre on the French arms; it struck the Russian generals with astonishment and admiration.

In the deplorable condition to which the army was reduced by the inclemency of the season, the fatiguing marches, and above all the scanty means of subsistence, it was imperatively necessary to approach Minsk and Wilna, as the only point where we had magazines and resources. The Emperor had already ordered Marshal Oudinot and Marshal Victor, to proceed with their corps to Borisow, in order to secure the passage of the Beresina. The Russian general, Wittgenstein, after having taken possession of Witepsk, pursued and pressed the rear-guard of Marshal Victor. Admiral Tschitschagow, with the army of Wolhynia, had marched to Minsk: a part of the main army of Kutusow was marching to Mohilew to pass the Dnieper. The general plan of the Russians to cut off the retreat of the French army was now manifest. There was not a moment to be lost. We left Orsha, having still five or six marches to make to reach the Beresina. I received orders to have all the melancholy trophies brought from Moscow destroyed or thrown into the Dnieper. All the remainder of the equipages, with the treasure, was escorted by a brigade commanded by Lieutenant-General Claparède, who marched in the rear of this column. In the first march we passed, in consequence of some misunderstanding, the point which had been designated for the first bivouac, and at nightfall we were two leagues beyond the position where General Claparède had orders to stop. We had with us only a weak escort of about thirty-men. Some men, whom we found in the midst of our route, killed or pierced with lances, were a sufficient indication that the Cossacks had got before us. I ordered the column to halt; some of our Polish lancers, who generally deviated from the route to search in the nearest villages for provisions, informed me that one of Platoff's regiments of Cossacks was cantoned in a village very near us.

I had caused the bivouac to be fixed in a clear space between the woods, which lined the right side of the road. Most of the persons attached to the equipages hastened to reach the borders of these woods in order to look for shelter. I had much difficulty in calling them back, and making them sensible of the danger of our position. I directed that all the carriages should be drawn up in a square, and at the two angles next the wood placed the two pieces of cannon which were at the head of the column. I had the carriages clogged, and enclosed in the square all the armed men that we had with us; the bivouac fires were lighted, and we passed the night without being molested. I sent notice to General Claparède, who immediately detached two companies to support us, if we should be attacked before his arrival.

We continued our march on the following days escorted by the troops of General Claparède, to within four leagues of Borisow, on the Beresina. We bivouacked in the woods, and stopped twenty-four hours; it was there that we learned the result of the action at Borisow, the taking of the entrenchments by the troops of General Tschitschagow; the arrival of the corps of Marshal Oudinot, who had repulsed the Russians, and driven the vanguard to the right bank, and last, the burning of the town and bridge of Borisow.

Though I had already lost some of the persons belonging to my department, who had either died from excessive fatigue, or had been taken by the Cossacks, I had, however, still retained the best part of my equipages, a carriage drawn by four excellent Prussian horses, that of my son-in-law the Baron de Saint Didier, and two wagons containing the papers of the intendancy, the registers, and all the accounts; and I had also four good saddle-horses. I was still very weak, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken of me, it was with great difficulty that I bore such severe shocks, and kept up, as well as I was able, the courage of my companions. Our line of retreat was really intercepted. Tschitschagow was between Borisow and Minsk; we had to pass the Beresina, and by crossing the marshes and by difficult ways we reached the road to Wilna. The thaw had ceased; the cold had returned, and became more severe every hour. I received through the major-general orders from the Emperor to burn all my

papers without any exception whatever, to abandon my wagons, and send the horses to the park of artillery.

The Emperor having reconnoitered four leagues above Borisow, a spot suited for making a bridge, and having diverted the attention of the enemy by feigned preparations for effecting a passage below Borisow, caused two bridges to be made under his own eyes, and with great celerity, one upon props for the artillery and the cavalry, the other on pontoons for the infantry. I received orders to direct to this point the treasure, and all that remained of the equipages of the head-quarters.

We passed through Borisow, the houses of which were still burning, and following the road which runs along the left bank of the Beresina, we arrived at about ten o'clock at night at the bridges; there was a great crowd of artillery wagons; the corps of Marshal Oudinot and the imperial guard had already passed over to the right bank, where the Emperor had likewise his bivouac. With great difficulty I succeeded in following the artillery wagons, and passed the bridge with the greater part of the equipages. Happily the frost had become sufficiently sharp for the carriages to pass over the marshy ground, and ascend the steep bank.

On the following day during the brilliant action of Marshal Oudinot and Marshal Ney with the divisions of Tschitschagow, who arrived too late to oppose the passage, we endeavoured to defile in order to take the road to Wilna, and were entangled among the artillery of the guard, which was forming in order to support the troops of Marshal Oudinot. The pole of my carriage having been broken in a marshy spot, it was with great difficulty that I was extricated from this embarrassing situation. Though extremely weak, I was obliged to alight, and saw the dreadful disorder that prevailed on both sides of the river, especially on the left bank and on the bridge. The rear-guard of Marshal Victor was closely pressed by the troops of General Wittgenstein, whose artillery kept up a constant fire on the bridge, the balls falling in the midst of us. At this moment Marshal Oudinot was brought in, severely wounded in the back by a musket-shot: Dr. Desgenettes left me to attend to him. It was not till the evening that this confusion was remedied, and we were able to proceed about two leagues on the causeway, when we bivouacked, and found shelter in some huts. On the following morning the whole army recommenced its

march at daybreak; the bridges were broken down without any possibility of saving a multitude of unhappy wretches who were abandoned on the left bank to the mercy of the enemy.

It was during this march, that passing the bridges of Zembin, a kind of causeway made of ash timber, supported by trestles, the only passage over a marsh about a mile in length, we were able to appreciate the immense danger from which we had just escaped; nothing in fact would have been more easy for the enemy than to cut and burn these bridges. A party of Cossacks which had just passed over them had attacked in a village the weak escort that accompanied Marshal Oudinot: if these Cossacks, who were bravely repulsed, had thought of setting fire to some parts of these bridges, the French army would have had no means of saving itself, and after a vain defence it would have been obliged to surrender or perish with hunger.

We had still six or seven marches to Wilna, by way of Molodeczno, Smorgoni, and Oszmiana; the cold became horribly severe, and our losses more and more considerable; we were outflanked and incessantly harassed by the Cossacks, the disorder increasing in proportion as our resources failed.

As we left Molodeczno, our column of equipages was impetuously attacked by a swarm of Cossacks on our left flank. We were protected only by a company of the young guard, which marched at the head of the equipages of the Emperor; these equipages were followed by the wagons with the treasure; my carriages came next, and behind me was that of Count Daru. I had scarcely time to mount a little Polish horse that was brought me; my groom was at that moment at the rear of the column with two saddle-horses which he had been able to save in the confusion on the bridge. My aide-de-camp, Major Doney, was on horseback and supported me. The Cossacks charged my carriages and that of Count Daru; a gendarme, who was at the door of my carriage, had his arm broken by a pistol-shot. My postilion had the presence of mind to double the file; Count Daru's carriages were captured; as I was endeavouring to reach the head of the column five or six Cossacks rode towards me; a disarmed dragoon, who was flying and trying to get to the wood, was killed by a carbine under my horse's feet. The Cossack who came up to me on the right hand missed

his aim, and his lance passed through the mane of my horse; the one on my left hand wounded my aide-de-camp Major Doney in the shoulder with his lance, but happily did not dismount him. They were so impetuous in this charge that they were hurried to a considerable distance from us, and we were able to reach the head of the column. As we passed I warned General Belliard, who, though severely wounded in the leg, mounted his horse and joined us and some officers of the Emperor's household. The good countenance of the company of infantry, and the approach of a detachment of dragoons which the Prince sent to our succour, finally relieved us from this confusion.

We continued our retreat by way of Smorgoni, and Oszmiana, always harassed in flank, and passed by the Cossacks. Our rear-guard, commanded by Marshal Ney, made head against the enemy, giving way only foot by foot, and from one position to another. This rear-guard no longer covered the remainder of an army, but an immense column of fugitives marching pell-mell, and decimated from hour to hour with cold and famine.

The Emperor quitted the camp; he left Smorgoni with an escort of Polish lancers of the guard. I learned that he had had the kindness to remember me, and to permit my return to France; he had caused a decree to be prepared with my nomination to the rank of senator, which would have changed my fortune and that of my son; this intention was not carried into effect, because the Emperor was told that I was beginning to recover my strength, and that I should perhaps be able, in a short time, to resume my functions as intendant-general.

The unhappy fate of the army was decided, and the presence of the Emperor could no longer be of any utility, whereas he alone could by a speedy return to Paris, recover the drooping spirits of the people, invigorate the springs of his government, and create new resources.

We were only three marches from Wilna, where the Duke of Bassano had collected supplies of all kinds, but where we could scarcely hope to enjoy a few hours' rest. Our rear-guards, which were every day more weakened and disorganised, were no longer pressed by the columns of Kutusow, but we were more and more harassed on our flanks by swarms of Cossacks. The corps of the Russian army suffered almost as much as ourselves from the cold,

and the scarcity of provisions. Their too well founded hope of cutting off our retreat had been disappointed by the passage of the Beresina. Colonel Boutourlin, the Russian historian of this memorable campaign, and aide-de-camp to the Emperor Alexander, describes the plan which, he assures us, was concerted between the Russian generals, to overwhelm and entirely defeat the remains of the grand French army in the marshes of the Beresina. According to this author the army of the north under the command of Wittgenstein, that of Kutusow, and the army of Volhynia, under the command of Tschitschagow, were to converge and unite at Borisow, and attack us on the left bank of the Beresina. This plan, if it really existed, was doubtless very well conceived. Boutourlin affirms that the most positive instructions had been given to the generals commanding the corps of the army, that the plan failed through certain acts of negligence which he states, the greatest of which is ascribed to Admiral Tschitschagow. But if we consider the difficulty of acting in concert at such great distances, and of effecting such a concentration of forces at a given point, we may doubt whether this plan was really conceived and prepared with the precision which Boutourlin's statement would lead us to suppose.

A division of Neapolitan troops and some French battalions had received orders to leave Wilna, and go to Oszmiana, to support the retreat of the army; but these troops were nearly cut off by the dreadful cold, which was from 28° to 29° Reaum.; on the very day of our arrival at Oszmiana, a large body of Cossacks had entered the town in the morning, and had been driven out by the troops that came from Wilna. Every thing that had preceded the column of the equipages of the head-quarters had been surrounded and taken. M. Devienne, an auditor of the council of state, was among the prisoners. At Oszmiana I met with the brave Colonel Laroque, formerly my aide-de-camp, who commanded a regiment of voltigeurs of the Neapolitan guard. He had lost nearly half of his troops in two days' march.

The day before our arrival at Wilna, we bivouacked around a small hamlet, where we found some shelter. In order to make a little room for ourselves in a deserted house, it was necessary to throw out the dead bodies with which it was filled. I shared this melancholy lodging with

the brave General Eblé, who was dying, and expired two days afterwards. This hamlet was surrounded with the bivouac-fires, lighted on the ice and snow, and when we set out nearly a third of the soldiers around these fires were stiff and dead.

At length we threw ourselves into Wilna, where every one hoped to find resources and some repose. The confusion was extreme. I took up my lodging in the house which I had occupied before. I went, or rather I got myself carried, to the head-quarters of the King of Naples, who had taken the command of the army. The prince major-general told me that it was impossible to maintain our position at Wilna, and that the army would leave it on the following night, or at the latest on the evening of the next day. I went to see Count Daru, who was endeavouring to introduce some order in the distribution of provisions and clothing which had been collected in the magazines. I likewise saw the Duke of Bassano, who left Wilna the same evening. I should have done the same, as my presence could be of no use whatever, if the horses which I had still left, as well as my people, had not been exhausted with fatigue. I had already lost several of my companions and assistants, and was surrounded with the dying.

In the night we had an alarm caused by the Cossacks. The "general" was beat, and they did not venture to approach any nearer the town. On the following day at noon, notice was brought me that the King and the whole of the head-quarters had departed; that the town was evacuated, and that there was not a moment to be lost. I was not able to get the horses put to my carriage; I reduced my equipage to what was strictly necessary; I had my uniforms burnt; my linen distributed among those who remained behind, and left money and provisions for the unhappy persons who were unable to accompany me, and especially for M. Paris, the commissary, the chief of my account office, who was nearly at the point of death, as well as his two sons, and who expired a few days afterwards; one of his two children died also, and the other was made prisoner.

We left the town and overtook the carriages with the treasure, and the Emperor's equipages. Towards day-break we halted at the foot of the eminence which is about a league and a half from Wilna. It was a mountain of ice, which the horses could not ascend. At the foot of this

eminence there was a crowd, an inextricable confusion of carriages, of artillery, of all kinds of baggage wagons, which left no hope of overcoming this obstacle. Some light carriages were able to turn the eminence by going a long way about on the right hand. Some succeeded in escaping and regaining the road; others fell into the hands of the enemy. The Cossacks reached us, with their artillery mounted on sledges; they began a brisk cannonade on this heap of confusion, and after having gained the height, already outflanked us. The officer of the escort of the Emperor's carriages came to tell me that they were setting fire to the equipages; I resolved to abandon mine, and alighted.

Saint Didier and I climbed up the hill, leading our horses by the bridle, and making our way amidst the crowd of fugitives. I was still so weak and exhausted by fatigue, that my horse having slipped upon the snow, I was unable to raise myself, and Saint Didier was obliged to pull me from under my horse. We took refuge together for the night in a dilapidated house near the château where the King of Naples had his quarters. We passed the night there, seated on some benches, with General Monthion, who was so good as to share some provisions with us. We proceeded on our way; we were still two days' journey from Kowno, a little town on the right bank of the Niemen. I travelled those two days on my little Arabian horse, one of the two that I had remaining. I felt myself wholly overcome by fatigue and stiff with cold; they put me on a sledge, and took care to hinder me from falling asleep. I should certainly have perished if this precaution had been neglected. My aide-de-camp Poncet continually pushed his horse's head against my shoulders, and thus kept me awake in spite of myself. We passed the night at Kowno amidst the greatest confusion. The troops of Marshal Ney, which formed the rear-guard, arrived in the evening, and mingling with the crowd of fugitives, forced the doors of a warehouse containing rum and brandy. They bivouacked in the square, on this side of the bridge. The houses on one side of the square had caught fire, and as there were on the other side depôts of artillery and ammunition, the danger of an explosion was imminent, and it would have been inevitable had the wind changed.

When we set out, some hours before daybreak, we had before us the dreadful spectacle of the bivouacs, where al-

most all the unhappy wretches who had become intoxicated, were stretched, frozen to death around the fires. The Niemen was so hard frozen, there were on it such accumulated masses of ice covered with snow, that its course was to be distinguished only by the steep eminences on the left bank.

On the other side of the river I stopped at a ruined house, where I found my friend General Durosnel, who, having been attacked a few days before by a malignant fever, had been conveyed on a sledge, escorted by gendarmes; they had placed him in this wretched dwelling; he was in a delirium and could not recognise me.

I waited there till a miserable open chaise was brought me; it was the only carriage that could be found in Kowno, and without its aid it would have been impossible for me to go any further. A combat had already begun in Kowno between the feeble remains of the troops of Marshal Ney and the Cossacks, a large body of whom had already passed the Niemen, on the ice, above Kowno. The few carriages that remained, and which had escaped the disaster at Wilna; some wagons of the treasure; several regimental baggage-wagons, which had reached Kowno, and was there in depôt, soon choked up the road, and the very steep acclivity which was to be ascended in order to reach the plateau. It gave us much trouble to get out of this defile; several carriages remained in it, which we were obliged to throw out of the road to open a passage. The soldiers began to pillage and to look for money. I ascended the hill on foot with my son-in-law, Combes, and my aide-de-camp. On the eminence at the outlet of the defile I met the King of Naples and the prince major-general; the latter scolded me very kindly for not having found means to get before the army. "What are you doing here?" said he; "in your place I should be far off on the road to France."

I could not have taken such a step but by separating from my brave companions, to whom my presence, my advice, and the few resources which I had been able to preserve, were unquestionably of great service. I had already lost many of them; those who survived had grouped themselves about me, and we struggled together against so many calamities.

At length we were out of that accursed country, the Russian territory. The Cossacks no longer pursued us with

the same ardour. In proportion as we advanced into the Prussian territory, we found better quarters and more resources. The first place at which we were able to take breath was Wilkoviski, and the next Gumbinnen, where I put up at the house of a physician, which I had occupied when I passed through the town before. Some excellent coffee had just been brought us for breakfast, when a man in a brown great-coat entered; he had a long beard; his face was blackened, and looked as if it were burnt; his eyes were red and brilliant. "At length I am here," said he. "Why! General Dumas, don't you know me?" "No; who are you, then?" "I am the rear-guard of the grand army; I have fired the last musket-shot on the bridge of Kowno. I have thrown into the Niemen the last of our arms, and have come hither through the woods. I am Marshal Ney." I leave you to imagine with what respectful eagerness we welcomed the hero of the retreat from Russia. He took up his quarters in the same house, and we set out to proceed to Königsburg, by way of Insterburg and Wehlau. The King of Naples and all his staff had arrived there before us. I went in the first place to Count Daru, whom I found engaged, as he had been at Wilna, but with less precipitation and more success, in providing for the wants of the army, to re-organise which some attempts were now making. I went to the King of Naples for his orders, and for permission to go to Danzick with my son-in-law Saint Didier, and my aide-de-camps, Doney, Poncet, and Captain Bernard. In that city we were at length able to enjoy the repose of which we stood so much in need. The brave General Rapp, governor of Danzick, gave me a very kind reception. It was with great pleasure that I found there Marshal Oudinot, who still suffered much from his last wound; his lady had come from France to hasten his recovery by the most affectionate attention. During the progress of my recovery I was not idle, and corresponded with Count Daru, and in concert with him provided every thing necessary against a siege; for this important place could not fail to be invested as soon as the remainder of the French army should have re-passed the Vistula, and there was not a moment to be lost in collecting all that it might require for its defence, which in the sequel was so glorious for the governor and the garrison.

I stopped about a fortnight at Danzick. The retreat of

Marshal Macdonald and the defection of the Prussian corps under General York had hastened the evacuation of Konigsberg. The enemy's light troops had passed the Pregel, had spread over East Prussia, and cut off the communication with Danzick. I left the place on the very day on which the investment was completed; at the distance of only a few leagues on the road to Stettin, I met two battalions of French infantry and a convoy of artillery, coming to reinforce the garrison, and which had scarcely time to reach the outworks without being attacked. I continued my journey without obstacle to Custrin, whence I proceeded to Berlin.

CHAPTER XI.

I resume my functions as Intendant-general—Retreat to the Oder—Retreat to the Elbe—The public mind in Germany—Prince Eugene—Re-organisation of the army—Preparation for opening the campaign of 1813—Battle of Lützen—Return to Dresden—Administrative difficulties—Discontent of the Emperor—Battles of Bautzen and Wurschen—Death of Marshal Duroc—Symptoms of demoralisation—Armistice—Negotiations for peace—Intentions and proposals of Austria—Situation of the French army—Reconnaissance, opinion, and plan of the campaign proposed by Marshal Gouvion Saint Cyr—Dispositions of the Allies—Conference of the Emperor Napoleon with Prince Metternich—Rupture of the armistice—Renewal of hostilities—March of the Allies towards Dresden—Countermarch of the Emperor Napoleon—Battle of Dresden—Battle of Culm—Defeat of Marshal Macdonald—Defeat of Marshal Oudinot—Concentration of the French army about Leipsic—Defence of Dresden—Success of Marshal Saint Cyr against General Tolstoy—Council of War—Dresden invested—Sally repulsed—Capitulation—Violation of the capitulation—We are detained as prisoners of war and sent to Hungary—Abode in Hungary and Austria—Return to France.

Though I had partly recovered my strength, I did not feel myself able to resume my functions as intendant-general, and I was thinking of asking the Emperor's permission to return to France, when I received a most pressing invitation from Count Daru to join, if I could, the head-quarters of the army at Posen, in order that he might be able, conformably with the orders which he had just received from the Emperor, to go and resume his functions as secretary of state. I was much chagrined at this, but I considered it to be my duty to return to my post under these unfortunate circumstances, and at the hazard of a relapse

to give this new proof of my zeal. The King of Naples had quitted the army to return to his dominions, and had left the command-in-chief to the Prince Viceroy of Italy.

I learnt at Berlin from our ambassador, the Count de St. Marsan, the critical state of affairs in Prussia, and the ill-will which every where manifested itself among the people; the prime minister, Baron Hardenberg, had but too clearly foreseen it at the very commencement of the campaign. I left at Berlin my aide-de-camps Doney and Bernard, and some of my people, to make up in all haste my travelling equipage, at least in all such articles as were indispensable, and set out post for Posen with Saint Didier and Poncet. On arriving at Francfort on the Oder, I learned that the road from Francfort to Posen was infested by Czernitschef's Cossacks; I was therefore obliged to make a greater detour, and to go up the Oder as far as Glogau; at that place I found some remnants of our military equipages, and all the establishment of the post-office of the grand army, which had taken refuge and stopped there. The army had been deprived of its correspondence for three months; I expressed my dissatisfaction to the director of this branch of the service; and yet his excessive prudence had probably saved many articles of value, and interesting communications.

As soon as I arrived at Posen, I went to take the orders of the Prince Viceroy, and of the prince major-general; the latter, who suffered much from the gout, which had got into his stomach, was, however, preparing to return to Paris. General Monthion remained with the prince as chief of the staff; Count Daru, who was impatiently expecting me, delivered to me the portfolio of the general intendancy and set out for Paris. I obtained the Viceroy's permission for my son-in-law St. Didier to accompany Count Daru.

I resumed my functions, and was happily enabled to make myself acquainted with the actual state of affairs by finding at Posen the intendant-commissary Combes, whom I had left at Konigsberg with Count Daru, and who had never quitted him during the end of the retreat on this side of the Vistula.

The Prince Viceroy was endeavouring to rally the remnants of the corps of different arms. He collected three thousand men of the imperial guard, under the command of the brave General Roquet. He desired to cover the rallying points which he had indicated on the Oder, the fortresses

on which we occupied; but he could no longer keep his position at Posen. The precipitate retreat of the Austrian corps under Prince Schwarzenberg, which we considered as a defection, had left Warsaw quite exposed. We had retained on the Vistula only the small fortress of Thorn, and the entrenched camp of Modlin; our line of operations was on the point of being intercepted, and the Prince Viceroy judged it absolutely necessary immediately to repass the Oder, and to meet the corps of General Grenier, about fifteen thousand strong, which was hastening from Italy by forced marches. Accordingly he made all the troops on the right bank of the Oder fall back, hoping to maintain his ground on that line by aid of the fortresses of Stettin, Custrin, and Glogau. The head-quarters were at Francfort.

I restored order in my offices, with a suitable distribution of the work to be done. I provided by special contracts for the subsistence of the army, and specially for the service of the hospitals, which were placed further back on the line of the Elbe. I renewed my correspondence with the intendant-commissaries and chief clerks, which had been wholly interrupted by the disasters of this long retreat, and by the loss of the documents which were the most necessary for the purpose of re-establishing the central board, and clearing up the chaos of such a vast range of accounts.

The cold became again very severe towards the end of January. The Oder was frozen so hard that the enemy's light troops easily crossed it, between the fortresses, by which our too extensive line was but ill supported. The Prince Viceroy, after having re-organised the troops which were under his command, resolved to fall back to the line of the Elbe with the army of observation, the difficult command of which was confided to him, and the preservation of which had become so important. Already all the inhabitants of the country were hastening to take up arms; battalions of landwehr were formed, and traversed our positions. We heard, and were obliged to put up with their insulting observations. Our head-quarters were in the royal palace, two leagues from Berlin. We remained there two days, while our troops were evacuating the suburbs, and retiring towards Wittenberg and Magdeburg. The corps of Marshal Davoust, which formed our right, retired through Dresden, and the Marshal was obliged to break down two arches of the bridge to secure his retreat. The Prince

Viceroy fixed his head-quarters at Leipsig, where he stopped about a fortnight; but the enemy being every where reinforced by the Prussian levies, supported by the corps of Bulow, Prince Eugene thought fit to pass the Saale, and content himself with retaining the fortresses of Wittenberg and Torgau, the garrisons of which he strengthened: he transferred his head-quarters to Magdeburg, and took up a good position, about two leagues in advance of that place, on the right bank of the river, which covered the place and his communication with Wittenberg, so that as circumstances should require, and according to the strength and the movements of the enemy, he could manœuvre on both sides of the river; he received some reinforcements, stopped and checked the enemy, till he had reason to fear being out-flanked, and was forced to repass the Elbe. Several smart actions took place, in one of which General Grenier was severely wounded in the head by a musket-ball.

After having maintained his position on the right bank of the Elbe as long as possible, the Prince Viceroy repassed the river, and moved his head-quarters to the left bank behind Hall, covering the defiles and the very rugged district of the Harz. I took up my quarters with the equipages and every thing belonging to my office at Holberstadt, a small town, six leagues from Magdeburg. All this passed towards the end of February; the great rigour of the winter began to abate. We remained tolerably quiet in this position; the enemy undertook nothing of importance, being engaged in assembling their forces on the right bank of the Elbe; and Prince Eugene, notwithstanding his numerical inferiority, kept his ground in the position which he had chosen, till the opening of the campaign. The Prince perfectly fulfilled the intentions of the Emperor; he greatly enhanced his reputation as a general-in-chief, by the justness of his combinations, by a happy alternation of boldness and prudence, by his vigilance, and by a paternal solicitude which gained him the esteem of the army, and the affection of his soldiers.

The emperor had in three months formed, organised, and (as has been justly said) *extemporised* another grand army. It was an immense effort; it undoubtedly exhausted the last resources of the empire; but Napoleon never seemed greater than on this occasion. He astonished Europe by suddenly reappearing on the theatre of war; he abashed the pre-

sumptuous confidence of the enemy; he recovered the honour of the French arms, and repaired disasters which could not but be deemed irreparable.

The skeletons rallied at the fortresses on the Rhine had received numerous conscripts; new regiments had been formed with the crews of the ships of the line; the artillery of the navy had served to complete that of the army; considerable purchases of horses had been made in Hanover and Holstein.

I received orders to prepare magazines of provisions on the line of the Saale, especially at Erfurth and Weimar; to re-organise the military equipages and the service of the hospitals. I continued to correspond with Count Daru on all subjects concerning the several branches of the service; I likewise received orders from the major-general, and sometimes directly those of the Emperor.

Towards the end of the month of April the new corps debouched from the line of the Rhine, to advance to the Saale; the allied army quitted its cantonments about Dresden, and advanced towards Leipsig with its left against the mountains which separate Bohemia from Saxony.

The Emperor joined the army, concentrated his forces, and removed his head-quarters from Erfurth to Weissenfels. The Prince Viceroy, whose troops were to form the left wing, received orders to proceed to Merseburg, and then to continue his march towards Leipsig, in proportion as the centre and the left wing should advance by the great road of Lützen. I left Halberstadt, and went first to Merseburg, following the movements of the army of Italy, that is to say, the corps of the Prince Viceroy, with all my establishment, the treasure, and a division of military equipages, about a hundred and fifty carriages.

Two days after my arrival at Merseburg I received orders from the prince major-general immediately to join the imperial head-quarters at Lützen, with my whole establishment. I set out the following day about seven o'clock in the morning. The distance from Merseburg to Lützen is only three leagues and a half by a pretty good road across the country. As we approached, we perceived along the causeway the smoke of cannon, but a north wind hindered us from hearing the report, and it was not till we were very near Lützen, that we learned that a great battle had begun. On entering the town, after having parked

the artillery, I saw that every thing was in confusion in consequence of an alarm caused by the Cossacks, who had turned the right wing of the French army and had fallen on the rear. I first went to visit the field hospitals, which were being filled with wounded. I restored order as well as I could, and went to join the Emperor in the field of battle; it was at the moment when a column of the young guard, commanded by General Roguet, which was directed by the Emperor himself, marched along the skirts of a wood in which the allies had placed a great number of sharpshooters. The object of this manœuvre appeared to me to be to attack the right of the centre of the enemy's line, in order to facilitate the reiterated attacks of Marshal Ney upon the village, of which the enemy had made themselves masters, and towards which they had advanced the greater part of their forces, in order to cut the line, and penetrate to the causeway. It was a very critical moment. The Emperor having sent for me, asked where the treasure and the equipages were? I replied, "I have executed your Majesty's orders; they are at Lützen." "Well! do not lose an instant to take them back to Merseburg; that is the point of retreat." I returned therefore to Lützen, and set out for Merseburg with all these impediments. I had but a weak escort: and as I had reason to believe that the Cossacks who had given the alarm at Lützen, and plundered further on the head-quarters of Prince Eugene, had spread over the plain, I was not without apprehensions; I knew too that a strong detachment of the allies had taken possession of Hall, and that it might reach Merseburg before me, by ascending the left bank of the river.

On approaching Merseburg, I perceived on the Leipsig road a column of infantry. I caused it to be reconnoitred, and learned with great pleasure that it was the division of Reynier, which the Prince Viceroy had detached in all haste to occupy this post, and which would have been very important, if the battle had been lost or the victory doubtful. We entered Merseburg a little before night, and after some hours' anxious suspense received the news of the victory gained by the Emperor over the Russian and Prussian armies. We returned on the following day to Lützen, where the Emperor still remained and was making his arrangements to pursue the enemy, who was retreating towards Dresden. I learned all the details of this memorable battle,

fought on the same ground on which the great Gustavus triumphed and fell gloriously. I went over the field of battle, of which I had scarcely had a glimpse on the preceding day, having seen only the left during the sanguinary attack of Marshal Ney, and before the fine manœuvre and charge of our left wing, conducted by Marshal Macdonald. I passed the whole day in having the wounded taken up, and in giving orders to send them to Weissenfels, Merseburg, and Leipsig. I went to pay my respects to Marshal Ney, who, having received a severe contusion in the leg, had not been able to march with his corps. He was so good as to explain to me his manœuvres, and his reiterated attacks, which had decided the success of the day. He said, "I had only battalions of conscripts, and I have reason to congratulate myself on it; I doubt whether I could have done the same thing with the old grenadiers of the guard. I had before me the best of the enemy's troops, the whole of the Prussian guards; our bravest grenadiers, after having twice failed, would perhaps not have carried the village, but I led these brave children five times to the charge, and their docility, perhaps too their inexperience, served me better than veteran courage; *the French infantry is never too young.*"

Though the trophies of the victory of Lützen consisted only of a few prisoners, some dismounted guns, and a great quantity of muskets left by the enemy on the field with their killed and wounded, the consequences of this battle were very important; the offensive plans of the allies were entirely disconcerted; they had attacked the French army, and had really surprised it on its march; they were astonished at meeting with such a firm resistance, and at the vigorous attacks of troops whom they believed to be ruined and disorganised by the reverses of the last campaign. They lost many men; the infantry of the Prussian guard was nearly destroyed; their numerous and fine cavalry was not able at the close of the day to turn the balance in their favour; all their charges were repulsed by the squares formed by the corps of Marshal Marmont and General Bertrand, who arrived in time to form the right wing, and support Marshal Ney. This cavalry afterwards covered the precipitate retreat of the allied army, which evacuated all Saxony on this side of the Elbe, and recrossed that river. Napoleon gave the command of the vanguard to Prince Eugene, and followed, in the direction of Dresden, the main

body of the army, which had gained a march in the night and on the day after the battle. The corps of Marshal Ney and part of the reserve of the cavalry were sent towards Torgau, where the Marshal was to pass the river, and ascend the right bank in order to turn the right of the allied army; but the desertion of General Thielmann, the king's aide-de-camp, delivered that place to the allies, who abandoned it after breaking down the bridge.

I followed the movement of the head-quarters. The army, satisfied by this first success, marched in high spirits and in very good order. We arrived at Dresden, which the enemy had just evacuated; but they occupied in force the great suburb of Neustadt (the New Town), and had placed posts and several batteries of artillery along the right bank.

Some hours after his arrival, Napoleon, having reconnoitred the points which were the most favourable for effecting a passage by force, caused a powerful battery to be erected below the city, towards the extremity of the suburb of Friedrichstadt. The object of this heavy cannonade was to induce the enemy to evacuate the great suburb of Neustadt, but they retained their position there, and persisted in defending the approaches to the bridge by a brisk fire of musketry. The Emperor had his head-quarters in the King's palace, literally under the enemy's fire, for the balls penetrated the apartment. Two days after the occupation of Dresden, the allies resolved to abandon the right bank of the river, and retreated to Würschen. Great exertions were made to restore the bridge, which had been partially broken down by Marshal Davoust; the two arches which had been rebuilt of wood had just been burnt.

I had received orders to assemble the municipality, and to demand considerable supplies; but the passage, the stay, and above all, the disorderly retreat of the allied army, had left in that unfortunate city but scanty resources, which my demands, my efforts, and my menaces could hardly extort from the inhabitants. The country, fertile as it is, was exhausted; and yet it was necessary to put the army in a condition to march in pursuit of the enemy, and to provide subsistence for several days. The Emperor very unjustly manifested much ill-humour at difficulties which I could not surmount. He would not allow any obstacle, either of time or the nature of things, to the execution of his will. He was eager to overtake the enemy, and attack them before

they could repair their losses. "I mean," said he to me, "to make Dresden the double tête-de-pont, the centre and pivot of my army. I must collect there all that is necessary for the subsistence of my troops in their marches, and their operations beyond the Elbe; do you comprehend me?" I replied with sincerity that I did not see how Dresden could become a sufficient depôt for such a purpose, either in a military or other point of view. I had certainly gone too far. The Emperor addressed to me some words which were more than severe, and dismissed me, ordering me to send for Marshal Duroc. I went to give an account to the prince major-general of this distressing conversation. "You always commit the same fault," said he; "you always will answer the Emperor." "Certainly," I replied, "and when he questions us, the sincere expression of our opinion is the most worthy homage that we can pay to his genius." The grand-marshal Duroc came to my quarters. "You have been very roughly treated," said he, "but be sure that at the bottom the Emperor does you justice." Marshal Duroc came with me to the meeting of the municipality and of some of the principal inhabitants, which I had caused to be convoked; he heard me state the wants of the army, demand at any price the supply of provisions, and of necessaries for the hospitals. He made himself acquainted with the means which I employed to regulate the service, and went to give the Emperor a faithful account, fully exculpating me.

A few days afterwards, the Emperor having caused the several corps of the army to pass the Elbe, obliged the enemy to retreat towards Silesia, and setting out from the right bank of the Elbe, as a new basis of operations, he directed the main body of the army and his reserves towards Bautzen, while the corps of Marshal Ney and General Lauriston were to outflank the right of the allies, and cut off their communication with Berlin. Before he left Dresden, he gave orders for the execution of great works to put into the best possible state of defence the half-dismantled city, which could not in any case have stood a regular siege.

This time I did not accompany the head-quarters; the Emperor thought that Count Daru, at the same time that he attended him as secretary of state, might perform my functions in the actice service. He ordered me to remain

at Dresden with the officers of my establishment; a small number of whom and the principal agents, such as the intendant-commissaries Daure, Martellère and Marchand, who had been employed in the general intendancy ever since the opening of the campaign, each to direct one of the principal branches of the service, accompanied Count Daru. I received directions to remain at Dresden, as a central point and grand depôt of the army, to form and duly to forward convoys for the subsistence of the army, in a country where it was but too easy to foresee that the enemy in their retreat would leave but little behind them.

The combination of the Emperor's plans and of the movements of the several corps of the army for the opening of this second act of the campaign beyond the Elbe was attended with speedy and complete success. The allied sovereigns, the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, had rallied their army, and occupied a strong position near Bautzen. Napoleon, as I have said, had caused the corps of Marshal Ney and General Lauriston to march to the left, in order to outflank the right wing of the allies, all whose force was concentrated. They had resolved to remain on the defensive, not to yield except inch by inch, and to avoid a general action till the arrival of the numerous reinforcements which they expected. Napoleon marched directly towards Bautzen with the main body of his army; his right wing, commanded by Marshal Macdonald, went along the foot of the mountains, and arrived in front of the enemy's position, whose left wing was strongly supported and almost inaccessible, on account of the inequalities of the ground and the woods.

The principal attack was made by the centre. The corps of General Lauriston and Marshal Ney, having completed their movement, arrived just at the right time on the field of battle, and attacked with advantage the right wing of the allies. The action became general on the whole line, and the enemy, after having during the whole day sustained reiterated attacks, was forced to retreat. Their rear was closely pursued by the Emperor himself with his reserve; and it was there that the brave General Duroc and General Kirgener, one of the most distinguished generals of the engineers, were both struck by the same cannon-ball. Kirgener was killed, and Duroc mortally wounded. This was the second most grievous loss that Napoleon had suf-

fered since the opening of the campaign among his most faithful followers. Two days before the battle of Lutzen, Marshal Bessières, while directing in person a strong reconnoissance of cavalry, was killed by a cannon-ball. The glorious death of Duroc deprived him of his surest friend, to whom he was the most attached, whose probity, noble independence, and enlightened counsels were so useful to him.

The losses of the French army on this day were very considerable; more than six thousand wounded, the greater part but slightly, were conveyed to Dresden, or went thither on foot and in great disorder. The hospitals were already full; I had much difficulty in fitting up new ones, and in providing the first indispensable necessaries. I observed, with great regret, several of these men who were slightly wounded; most of them young conscripts who had but lately joined the army, had not been wounded by the enemy's fire, but had mutilated each other in the hands and feet. Such accidents, which were so bad an omen, had already been observed during the campaign of 1809. The various reports which reached the Emperor roused his indignation. He questioned me respecting the reports which I had received, and the examinations which I had caused to be made in my presence by the surgeons. I did not seek to dissemble so melancholy a truth. He ordered an inquiry, and the special report that was made to him was contrary to my too well-founded observations. He preferred believing those, who, to make their court, dissembled a truth, which was indeed very afflicting, but very important in such circumstances.

The battle of Bautzen, in which the allies had likewise suffered immense loss, had completely disconcerted their plans, and forced them to fall back into Upper Silesia. The Russian reinforcements were still on the Vistula; the Prussian landwehr was assembling about Berlin; the Swedish army was still in Pomerania, and the corps destined to oppose that which Marshal Davoust was forming at Hamburg, was not yet organised and in a condition to act. The blockade of the fortress of Glogau, Cüstrin, Stettin, and Danzick, employed a considerable part of the enemy's forces. Under these circumstances the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, who reckoned on the support of Austria, proposed an armistice. Napoleon accepted it;

doubtless on account of the bad state of most of the corps of the French army which had been so precipitately formed, and because the reinforcements which he expected would enable him, after some weeks' repose, to strike still more decisive blows, to make himself once more master of the Prussian capital, and to relieve the fortresses. It seems that he had no doubt of the neutrality of Austria, and that he hoped that his two victories at Lützen and Bautzen would give him such an advantage in the negotiations for peace, that he would be able to dictate the conditions.

The event proved to be very different; Austria came forward in the character of an armed mediator, and the intrigues of England to form a fourth coalition, more formidable than any of the preceding, succeeded beyond its hopes. The proposals of Austria were so far sincere, that she wished to take advantage of the state of affairs, in order to check the ambitious projects of Napoleon, to recover for herself the provinces of which she had been deprived in 1809, and to restore the balance of power, by confining the French empire within its natural boundaries.

Napoleon considered this intervention, this armed neutrality as decidedly hostile. It may appear astonishing, that while entertaining this persuasion, he was not sensible of the extent and the imminency of the danger, or that he could have doubted for a moment that the general coalition was eventually concluded. He might have prevented the consequences of it by trifling sacrifices, even had he dissembled his resentment, to defer expressing it to a future opportunity.

The whole time of the armistice was diligently employed in restoring the corps of the army. The negotiations opened at Prague made but little progress; the verbal communications of Prince Metternich and Count Bubna at Dresden only vexed and irritated more and more the conqueror at Lützen and Bautzen. The immense preparations making by the allies, the assembling of the Austrian army on the frontiers of Bohemia, every thing in short, announced a storm which it would afterwards be too late to dispel; but nothing could move the resolution of Napoleon; he would make no concession; he refused to be the first to state the bases of the negotiations, by which he would have been engaged to favour the demands of Austria, and to renounce his projects of vengeance against Prussia.

Our situation in Dresden was precarious and dangerous, if Austria should declare herself, and join the coalition with all her forces. We had nearly exhausted the country; all the branches of the service of the army suffered, and especially that of the hospitals. The Emperor persisted in taking, for the centre of his operations on both sides of the Elbe, the half dismantled town of Dresden, surrounded by large open suburbs, covered with buildings up to the very foot of the ramparts. He caused the suburbs to be surrounded by a palisade, made of the trunks of ash-trees, and had strong redoubts erected in advance of this palisade. On the supposition of the projects which he ascribed to the enemy, and particularly to the Austrians, he admitted the possibility of a strong diversion on the left bank of the river, but did not believe that the principal attack would be made on that side. He ordered Marshal Saint Cyr to go, during the armistice, and reconnoitre in person the several issues from the frontier of Bohemia. The Marshal having performed this task with that sagacity and penetration which distinguished his great military talents, reported to Napoleon what he had seen, and the information that he had collected. He had formed a decided opinion of the projects of the enemy and of the means of carrying them into execution. He did not doubt that almost the whole of their force would be united in Bohemia, and that immediately after the rupture of the armistice, when they should see the French army marching to Silesia, they would debouch by the four defiles which he pointed out. He was of opinion that the Emperor ought to feign a grand movement towards Silesia, but should keep his forces united, and concentrate the different corps of the army in such a manner, as to be able to attack the great allied army, in proportion as the columns should enter into the Saxon territory, even to surprise them in their movements before they were fully developed, and that if entire success should be obtained, as there was reason to hope, by forcing these columns back into the defiles, he must closely follow them, descend into Bohemia, change the theatre of war, make the army live at the expense of the enemy, whose forces would be destroyed or dispersed, and march for the third time to Vienna, to conquer that capital, and the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria.

This advice, the soundness of which was too well proved by subsequent events, was not relished by Napoleon. Ad-

mitting the supposition that Austria was determined to join the coalition, he was persuaded that the great mass of the forces of the allies would debouch by the right bank of the Elbe, to act in Upper Silesia; to join afterwards the Prussian and Swedish corps, to cover Berlin, to hinder the relief of the fortresses on the Oder, which were still held by the French, and to repulse them if they could to the left bank of the Elbe.

While false reports confirmed the Emperor in this supposition, conformably to which he made all his arrangements, the negotiations at Prague were more and more protracted, either by the intrigues of Russia and England, or by Napoleon's refusal to take the first step in laying down the basis of the preliminaries. During these delays, of which the allies took advantage to unite all their forces principally in Bohemia, the Austrian plenipotentiaries, still affecting the part of mediators, urged Napoleon to explain himself. I repeat it, Austria undoubtedly desired to profit by so favourable an opportunity, to recover in the first place the provinces which had been taken from her. But she was sincere in the expression of a desire for a general peace; sincere too in the representation of the imminent danger in which the French army could not fail to be placed, threatened by such a superiority of force and by armies trained to war by their own reverses, excited to avenge so many outrages, and supported by the public spirit and the resentment of the whole mass of the population. Irritated by language so new to him, so strange amidst the trophies of his last victory, Napoleon repelled the insinuations of Austria, with the same haughtiness which he had shown when, at his head-quarters at Schönbrunn, he dictated the humiliating treaties of Presburg and Vienna. "I do not recompense defections," said he to Prince Metternich, even personally insulting him by suspicions of venality.

At length the fatal day arrived without Napoleon having taken advantage of the last moments which were left him, to signify to the Congress at Prague on what terms he would consent to treat. The day and the hour for signing the coalition were fixed. It is said that an officer, who was the bearer of the propôsal so impatiently expected by the Duke of Vicenza and the Count de Narbonne the French plenipotentiaries, and who was despatched from Dresden by the Duke de Bassano, minister for foreign affairs, arrived at

Prague a few minutes too late. Prince Metternich had signed the accession of Austria to the coalition, after having ascertained that the French plenipotentiaries had not yet received any new orders, and notes to communicate to him.

During the armistice Napoleon had made an excursion to Mayence, to see the Empress Maria Louisa, who came there to meet him. The prince major-general, who accompanied the Emperor on this journey, told me on his return that he had spoken of me to him, and had expressed some regret at having treated me too roughly on the occasion which I have already related. He willingly did justice to my zeal, and if I may say so without presumption, to my talents; "but," added he, "I cannot transact business with him. He annoys me because he is always for making a speech." I received with pleasure this testimony of the Emperor's opinion; as for the reproach of speaking too much, I cannot accuse myself of it, for I always waited till he questioned me, and I must do myself the justice to say that I always replied with precision, and above all with frankness. I do not think that I ever failed in that duty.

A few days after the return of the Emperor, the allies denounced the armistice, and the troops began to move. I continued to reside in Dresden with the whole establishment of my department, and Count Daru was instructed to transmit to me daily the orders of the Emperor. The rupture of the armistice surprised me as a very extraordinary event. The circumstances appeared to me so favourable, I was so far from doubting of the conclusion of a continental peace, that I had taken advantage of the vacation to send for my son to Dresden. He was then fourteen years of age, and I thought it might be useful to him to see some parts of Germany, and to have a sight of the army, and the imperial head-quarters. The renewal of hostilities obliged me to keep him with me till I could find some safe opportunity of sending him back to France. The rear of the army between Leipzig and Dresden was already infested by the enemy's light troops.

The Emperor opened the campaign in Silesia by movements, all which were relative to the plan of operations which he supposed the enemy to have formed. He directed Marshal Saint Cyr to cover Dresden with his corps, consisting of about fifteen thousand men, by taking a good position on the frontier, only to mask the principal issue towards

Peterswald, that is to say, the high road from Prague to Dresden, by way of Töplitz and Peterswald, on the left bank of the Elbe. He directed the corps of General Vandamme, which had been formed at Wesel and Bremen, and which had just joined the grand army, to march on the right bank to Zamosc. This corps consisted of about twenty thousand fresh troops in very good condition, with an excellent train of artillery which was provided with very good horses. It passed over the bridge of Dresden.

I must here repeat that I do not write the history of this campaign; I mean to mention only the events which passed under my eyes; I allude to others merely in a summary manner, and when they are relative to those which I describe

The well-founded suppositions of Marshal Saint Cyr were very soon realised. As soon as the allies knew that the Emperor had sent almost all his forces towards Upper Silesia, where General Blucher with part of the Prussian army and some Russian corps manœuvred before the heads of the French columns, they developed their real plan of operations. Their principal army assembled in Bohemia, in the presence and under the command of the three sovereigns, with Prince Schwartzenberg for the general-in-chief, issued from Bohemia by the five defiles which Marshal Saint Cyr had reconnoitred. That marshal being attacked in front and outflanked on his right, fell back from position to position, to Dresden, and was soon obliged to shut himself up in that city, or rather in the half-finished entrenchments round the suburbs.

The Emperor, being informed of this movement of the allies, considered it at first as a strong diversion, and persisted in his original arrangements to advance into Silesia, being persuaded that the principal force of the enemy was on that side of the Elbe, and that he should soon overtake and attack it. He ordered Marshal Saint Cyr to defend Dresden, and to hold out at least a week; but when the marshal received this order the grand army of the allies, consisting of above a hundred and fifty thousand men, was already before Dresden, which it had nearly invested. Napoleon, being at length aware of the real design of the allied sovereigns, caused the corps of the army which were nearest at hand to retrograde with all speed, leaving to Marshal Macdonald the command of his own corps, and of those of

Marshal Ney and General Lauriston, in all about forty-five thousand men, to oppose and keep in check the army under the command of General Blucher. This counter-march was equally skilful and rapid. The King of Naples arrived first and alone, with some officers of his staff, and went to reconnoitre the line of the advanced posts, which were scarcely half cannon-shot from our entrenchments. The reserve of cavalry, the corps of Marshals Marmont and Victor and of General Bertrand, the young guard commanded by General Mortier, and the old guard, arrived successively at Dresden. Napoleon went thither himself about six o'clock in the morning on the 25th of August, at the moment when the allies were preparing to commence the attack, and extending their left to surround the suburb of Friedrichsburg. They had delayed their attack too long: if they had undertaken it the day before, or in the night, Marshal St. Cyr, being overwhelmed by a very superior force, would certainly have been obliged to pass to the right bank of the Elbe, and to retreat to Neustadt. Napoleon skilfully availed himself of this mistake; he had time in the course of the day to place all his troops in the entrenchments, to occupy by strong detachments the redoubts which served to support the masses placed between them, either in advance or in reserve, behind the palisade, or in the houses and gardens of the suburb. A great number of cannon distributed on this line of defence, rendered the position formidable.

The attack of the allies had been retarded by the too eccentric movement of the greater part of the Austrian troops, about 40,000 men, led by Fieldmarshal the Prince of Schwartzenberg in person. This corps, which, according to the plan of the allies, was to attack the suburb of Friedrichsburg, had to go a long way about by the valley of Tharand, and was thus separated from the Russians and the Prussians, who occupied the heights between the Elbe and this little valley. It is a kind of ravine, very deep, which extends into the country for about three leagues, and the perpendicular sides of which permit but very rare communications between the two sides of this narrow valley, that is to say, from one plateau to the other. Both these plateaux command the basin and the city of Dresden, and decline with an insensible slope to within cannon-shot of the city. The right or southern plateau comes nearest to

the city; that on the north side on the contrary retires from it, and the plain opens to Meissen.

It is evident that in these respective positions the allies had all the advantage of firing from an elevated position, and they were able to choose their points of attack; but then the extent of the suburbs obliged them to make a great developement of their force; whereas the concentrated position of the French army afforded a facility of supporting, with the reserves, the points that were threatened, and of taking advantage of favourable circumstances in the weak points of the enemy's line.

The corps of Prince Schwartzenberg not being ready, nothing was done on the first day; the two armies merely observed each other, and fired a few cannon-shot to try the enemy. On the following day the general action began almost at the same time on all the points of the line. The principal attack of the allies was by their right, against the Gross-Garten, (the Great Garden,) and against the redoubts in advance of that suburb, that is to say, against the left of the French. The Emperor Napoleon had gone in person to the centre of his line, to the great redoubt, before the palisade, on the road to Freiburg; he had placed the artillery of his guard in advance, and a little to the left of this redoubt. The fire of this artillery perfectly covered the centre of the entrenchments, which opposed the efforts that the enemy might have made on that important point. By favour of this *point d'appui* the Emperor advanced his whole right wing, which debouched from the suburb of Friedrichsburg with the cavalry under the command of the King of Naples, ascended the plateau, and moved forward to meet the columns of Prince Schwartzenberg, which were hastily advancing; they had not time to deploy and take up a position. The Austrian infantry formed several squares, which were successively broken and cut down by the cavalry of the King of Naples. Sixteen hundred prisoners and seventeen pieces of cannon remained in the hands of the French, after an action which was as spirited as it was short. Thus the whole left wing of the allied army, separated from the centre and the right by the valley of Tharand, was as it were surprised, routed, and put to flight without being able to receive any support.

While this was passing on the left of the allies, and even behind their centre, they were making the greatest efforts

with their right wing, to force the entrenchments of the French left, in order to penetrate into the suburb and into the city. It was in this attack that the illustrious deserter Moreau was mortally wounded.

Towards the close of the day, Marshal Mortier with the young guard advanced between the Gross Garten and the left bank of the Elbe, on the road to Pirna, thus outflanking the extreme right of the allies, who renounced the attack and resumed their position on the heights.

Thus was gained, against superior forces, the memorable battle of Dresden. We cannot too much admire the arrangements, the perseverance, the firm resolution of Napoleon in a most perilous situation. Unhappily this time, by an inconceivable fatality he did not reap the fruit of one of his finest victories; the allied army retreated during the night through the same defiles which it passed before, and hastened to return to Bohemia.

Napoleon immediately ordered the several corps of the army to pursue the enemy; with the young guard he marched himself towards Pirna; he directed General Vandamme to pass the Elbe and march to Töplitz, to cut off the enemy's column. The corps of Marshals Saint Cyr and Marmont were sent in the same direction, in the pursuit of the enemy; and as these two corps met, Marshal Saint Cyr turned to the left, instead of remaining, to no purpose, on the same route as the corps of Marmont. He was thus between the direction taken by the latter and the road to Töplitz, on which the corps of Vandamme was marching in full confidence. The Emperor, who at first intended to have the corps of Vandamme supported by the young guard, which was with him at Pirna, suddenly changed his mind and returned to Dresden. Vandamme, continuing his march towards Töplitz, arrived at Culm, where he met with a strong column of the enemy. Whilst the action was going on, the Prussian corps of General Kleist, finding the defile which was before it choked up, turned to the left across the country, and reached the road to Töplitz. He was thus in the rear of General Vandamme, without having calculated upon it, and the French general cut off from the army, and attacked in front and rear, was totally defeated, and fell himself into the hands of the enemy; some battalions only turning back, forced their way through the Prussian corps, and reached Peterswald. This disastrous event, which was

ascribed to the imprudent ardour of General Vandamme, might have been easily prevented, if Napoleon had abided by his resolution of having General Vandamme supported by the young guard, which, being at Pirna, had but a few hours' march to make in order to join Vandamme. Marshal Mortier, who commanded it, would have been in the rear of the Prussian corps of General Kleist, who would infallibly have experienced the fate that befel General Vandamme, since like him, being attacked in front and rear, he would have had no means of saving himself but by laying down his arms.

While these events were passing on the left bank of the Elbe, Marshal Macdonald, being attacked on the Katzbach by the superior forces of General Blucher, was beaten and forced to retreat to Bautzen. Towards Berlin, Marshal Oudinot sustained a great reverse; the Crown Prince of Sweden, having united the Swedish troops with the Prussian corps under General Tauenzein, reinforced by the levy of the landwehr battalions, had gained a first advantage over the French corps which Napoleon had sent towards Berlin. Marshal Ney, who was sent to support Oudinot, attempted in vain to act on the offensive, and was obliged to fall back on Wittenberg.

The news of these three defeats, occurring almost simultaneously, arrived at the same time at the imperial head-quarters at Dresden, just at the moment when Napoleon, satisfied with having forced back into Bohemia the principal army of the allies, was preparing to march to Berlin with the greater part of his forces. The scene was changed; the victory of Dresden had given him nothing but some thousand prisoners and useless trophies. The allies had regained their confidence; the French had suffered immense losses within a few days; whereas the allies were receiving considerable reinforcements from all sides. They would certainly resume offensive operations immediately with great advantage; they had behind them, and close at hand, immense resources, while those of the French army were becoming rapidly exhausted. It became every day more difficult to provide for the several branches of the service; the city of Dresden, that fatal pivot, was crowded with the sick and wounded. Never were my functions more difficult, or my efforts more fruitless. There was not an intelligent officer who was not sensible of the danger of our general

position, and of the necessity of abandoning the line of the Elbe, and of retreating towards the Rhine, before all the forces of the allied sovereigns should be united and concentrated in Saxony. But it was inherent in the character of Napoleon to resist bad fortune, and to place the more confidence in the resources of his genius. He was warned of the immense superiority of the forces which were proceeding nearly to surround him; no truths relative to the situation and temper of his army were concealed from him. He knew that the defection of Austria would be followed by that of the princes of the Rhenish Confederation; that the troops of Bavaria and Würtemberg threatened his line of operations; that the Swedish army was about to pass the Elbe; that the Saxon troops, notwithstanding the fidelity and the admirable constancy of their king, were tampered with by deserters; lastly, that the population was every where running to arms, and that all Germany resounded with the cry of "War unto death with the French." Nothing could shake his resolution to combat on the same theatre on which he had just triumphed, and by a great effort to bring back victory to his eagles. Having strong garrisons in the fortresses on the Elbe, Königstein, Dresden, Torgau, Wittenberg, and Magdeburg, he still hoped to prevent the junction of the allied armies on this side of the Elbe, to defeat them separately, and then to resume his positions on the Elbe, and his offensive plans of advancing to the Oder. With this view he concentrated all the corps of his army about Leipsig, with the exception of that of Marshal Saint Cyr, which he left at Dresden, with the offices of the different branches of the service, as he had done before when he marched to Silesia.

On this occasion, then, I again remained at Dresden with Marshal Saint Cyr, who besides his own corps, had also under his command that of Count Lobau, formed of the remnant of the corps of Vandamme, in all nearly twenty thousand men.

The allies lost no time in debouching from Bohemia, and passing the Elbe at several places between Torgau and Magdeburg. We were shut up in the place, and invested on the two banks of the river; we had henceforth no communication with the imperial head-quarters.

A few days before the Emperor left Dresden, foreseeing too clearly what must happen, I sent away my son. I con-

fided him to the care of a steward of M. Senft de Pilsach, whose house I occupied, and who undertook to conduct him to Mainz, where he arrived quite safely, though the road between Erfurth and Francfort was already infested by parties of the enemy.

The troops employed in the blockade of Dresden were formed principally of an Austrian corps and a Russian division, which were soon joined by reinforcements consisting for the most of new Russian levies. The total force of the enemy which had taken its position on the heights where the battle had been fought, was estimated at forty thousand men, under the command of General Tolstoy.

About the 12th of October, we perceived that part of these troops had been detached, probably to join the grand army of the allies. Marshal Saint Cyr skilfully availed himself of this circumstance to make a sally, or rather to give battle to the blockading army. This army not being sufficiently numerous entirely to invest the place on the side of the suburb of Friedrichsburg, General Tolstoy had concentrated it in the position which, as I have just mentioned, had been occupied by the Russian and Prussian armies; that is to say, his left was towards the eminences that bound the valley of Tharand, while his right extended to Pirna. In this position Tolstoy watched the movements of the strong French garrison; he was content with being able to attack with advantage every thing that should go out of Dresden and take the road to Leipsig, but he had committed the fault of not reconnoitring beyond the valley, of which he did not even guard the entrance, though it was at a short distance from the place.

Being well informed of this position of the enemy, and of his neglect to cover the support of his left wing, Marshal Saint Cyr sent out in the night a division of infantry of about three or four thousand men commanded by General Mouton-Duvernet, who received orders to enter the valley of Tharand, to ascend it to the distance of a league and a half from the place, in order completely to turn the enemy's left wing, and not to show himself, nor commence his attack on the rear of the enemy, till the signal should be given by a cannon-shot from the redoubt No. 8, the same which had been taken and retaken the day before the battle of Dresden, and which was opposite to the centre of the enemy's position, and the nearest to his advanced posts. The

Marshal had ordered Count Lobau to lead his troops through the Gross Garten, and to attack in front, ascending the height at the moment that General Mouton-Duvernet should have commenced his attack, and when his fire should be distinctly perceived in the enemy's rear. This admirable plan was perfectly well executed; but two oversights hindered the enemy from being completely surprised and defeated: in the first place a brigade of Count Lobau's corps, which was to conceal its march by covering itself by the park of Gross Garten, advanced, on the contrary, outside of it along the skirts of the wood, in sight of the enemy's outposts; in the second place the Marshal, whom I had the honour to accompany, went in person at nine o'clock in the morning, to the redoubt No. 8, to observe more nearly the enemy's outposts, and to judge himself of the moment when the troops which were to attack in front should be ready, in order to have the signal given; but as we approached the redoubt, the artillery officer, taking it for granted that the presence of the Marshal sufficiently indicated the moment for commencing the attack, caused the cannon to be prematurely fired, before we had entered the redoubt. General Mouton-Duvernet, having commenced his attack, and the troops that were in the Gross Garten having been perceived by the enemy before the attack on his left flank and rear had entirely engaged his attention, General Tolstoy had time to make his left fall back, and to order the retreat by his right flank. Our sharp-shooters, however, briskly attacked the advanced posts of the enemy's line, and Count Lobau, falling impetuously on the right and attacking it with vigour, cut off some battalions of the rear-guard, made twelve hundred prisoners, and took nine pieces of cannon.

The grand army of the allies was then between Dresden and Leipsig. The cavalry of the King of Naples, after some engagements, had been forced back on the position in advance of Leipsig, where the Emperor had concentrated all his forces. All the communications were therefore interrupted; we did not even hear the report of the cannon on the 16th and 18th of October. The first news that reached us was the bulletin published by the allies the day after the disastrous battle of the 18th. This bulletin reached us from Freiburg, the only point with which we had been able to communicate, because General Tolstoy had not ventured to resume his position so near to Dresden. At length, then,

after a cruel suspense we knew that the Emperor was in full retreat to the Rhine; and we were likewise informed that the Bavarian army under General Wrede was on its march towards Francfort.

Under these circumstances the instructions given by the Emperor to Marshal Saint Cyr had no longer the same object, and no result could be expected from the execution of them. Ought we to remain in Dresden, to defend the place as long as possible, although evidently without any hope of being relieved, or of concurring in any useful operation? or ought we to leave Dresden with the twenty thousand men, who were under the command of the Marshal, and attempt to cross Germany in order to return to France? Such was the question which Marshal Saint Cyr thought fit to submit to a council of war, that he might be the better able to judge what course he ought to take. I was summoned to this council, in which opinions were divided. Being questioned in my turn, I declined, as I had no other functions than those of intendant-general, giving any opinion, and obtained the Marshal's promise that in case he should resolve to evacuate the place, I should not be separated from him. Being again urged to give my opinion, I desired that it should not be entered upon the minute-book, because I could not have a vote, and that what I might say should be received only as hints. I added that it seemed to me impossible to suppose, that the first care of the commander-in-chief of the allied armies, immediately after gaining the decisive battle of Leipsig, had not been to detach a corps of sufficient strength entirely to cut off the communications of the twenty thousand men, whom he well knew to be in Dresden, and to invest them and reduce that city at all hazard; that this corps reinforced by that of General Tolstoy, would infallibly stop our march, attack us in front and in flank, and either destroy us, or compel us to surrender in the open field; that our most vigorous efforts could not hinder the enemy from following us, from multiplying the obstacles in our way, and causing us to perish in detail, and by the want of resources; lastly, that the defence of the city of Dresden, employing a part of the enemy's forces, delaying the siege and the capture of the fortresses which we still possessed on the Elbe, would have a more honourable object and issue, than an effort, in appearance more glorious, but certainly rash and useless; that the Emperor,

if he could have done so, would undoubtedly have given fresh orders to this effect.

The proposal that was made to march along the right bank of the Elbe to reach Torgau, and if possible Magdeburg, could not be attended with any better success; Torgau must be crowded with the wounded, and all the equipages of the army, and the enemy, who would soon be masters of Dresden and other passages, would anticipate us on that side also. The crowding of a greater number of troops into Magdeburg, if contrary to all probability we could reach it, would only hasten the surrender of that important place, which could neither be released nor revictualled. It was therefore better to remain firm at Dresden in order to weary the enemy by a vigorous resistance, till we should have wholly consumed the scanty resources that we had left. Such, after a very animated discussion, was the resolution of Marshal Saint Cyr.

Three days afterwards, which certainly could not have sufficed to gain even one march upon the enemy, the Austrian general Klenau blockaded the city and suburbs of Dresden on both banks with an Austrian army, the force of which, united with Tolstoy's corps, was certainly not less than fifty-two thousand men. After having cut off all our communications, and confined us to our entrenchments, General Klenau made a show of commencing an attack in form; but Marshal Saint Cyr knew that he had no heavy artillery, that he could not obtain it except from the fortresses in Bohemia; and that the very rainy and advanced season had so spoilt the roads that it was impossible to form and bring to Dresden a train of battering cannon. The Marshal turned his attention to the completion of the means of defence; he caused all the issues from the suburbs to be traversed by trenches; multiplied the barricades; had the houses loop-holed, and thus rendered this circuit of the suburbs of Dresden very strong, all the transverse communications in the interior becoming so many intrenched lines, to which the place itself, (in bad condition, it is true, yet as well repaired as possible,) served as the nucleus.

I took care to be as provident of our remaining stock of provisions as was compatible with the consumption of a garrison of twenty thousand men, besides five or six thousand sick and wounded, of whom I had been able to send only a small number to Torgau, and the wants of the in-

habitants of the city. We remained respectively in this situation till November. In proportion as the scarcity began to be felt, as the most rigorous search produced hardly any thing, as cattle were wanting, and we were at last obliged to kill the horses, murmurs arose. The resolution taken by the marshal began to be blamed: the proposal to force the blockade on the right bank, and march to Torgau, in order afterwards to reach Magdeburg, was revived. So much ardour was manifested to make this hazardous attempt, that the marshal, who considered it only as a sally, (which, if it had not the expected success, could not however be attended with much risk, as the retreat was well secured,) gave orders to Count Lobau to form a select corps, equal to the half of the disposable force, and to attempt to open a passage. The marshal remained at Dresden with his whole staff, and with all the boards of administration, to defend the place. In spite of all the precautions that were taken to conceal this attempt from the enemy, it was not probable that they had not provided beforehand the means to defeat it. The engagement commenced within half a league of the city. Count Lobau found on the nearest heights a superior force so advantageously posted, that after having made the most vigorous efforts, he was obliged to give up the idea of continuing his march, and therefore returned with his troops into the town.

Our difficulties increased every day and every hour; the presence of a part of the royal family was not the least of them, and greatly embarrassed the marshal. He firmly resisted the most earnest solicitations of the principal inhabitants, and especially of persons connected with the court, who implored him not to prolong so useless a defence. At length, the communications which it was difficult wholly to prevent, led to some parleys. Two colonels, one of them the nephew of Count Lobau, and his first aide-de-camp; the other, M. Marion, commander of the engineers, were appointed to confer with the Austrian officers sent by Baron Klenau, and according to their proposal, to draw up the basis of a capitulation to be laid before the marshal. They could not agree together. As I had told Marshal Saint Cyr that Baron Rothkirch, chief of the staff of General Klenau, was most probably the same officer with whom I had been engaged in the execution of the armistice of Vienna, during the campaign of 1809, the marshal ordered me to propose

a conference to him, and did me the honour to entrust me with his full powers. I repaired to the enemy's outposts in a small lone house on the eminence nearest to the town, towards the entrance of the valley of Tharand. I was at first much surprised at not recognising Baron Rothkirch; it was his brother, who received me with much politeness. As we were entering into conversation, I saw a general officer with his escort approach the house. I heard my name mentioned, and soon recognised Lieutenant-General the Marquis de Chasteler, whom I had met with in the Tyrol at the end of the campaign of 1801, and afterwards seen at Paris, where I had the pleasure of rendering him some service relative to his interest in Belgium. He was one of the most distinguished officers of the Austrian army, inspector-general of the engineers, and governor of the fortress of Theresienstadt: he was closely connected with General Klenau, and had doubtless been sent for to assist him with his counsels.

At first he pretended to be surprised at meeting me here. He soon entered into conversation on the subject on which we were engaged, and informed me that he was authorised by his colleague and friend General Klenau to treat definitively if we could agree together. "That will be very easy," said I, "if, as I cannot doubt, you appreciate your situation and ours with the same good faith as Marshal Saint Cyr. You cannot think of attacking us by force." "Why not?" said he. "Because you can perfectly see from this spot our means of defence; moreover the marshal offers you to go with me and examine them yourself. You already suffer in this rainy season." "Yes," replied General Chasteler, "but our heavy artillery will soon arrive." "It would be already here," said I, "and you would have saluted us with some bombs, if you could bring up a single piece." He assented to this, at least by his silence. I then alleged with respect to our stock of provisions all the usual falsehoods, for the truth was that we had not more than enough for three days. I added that General Klenau, who doubtless had orders to besiege Torgau as soon as he should have the means of doing so, must be as desirous to occupy Dresden as Marshal Saint Cyr could be to quit it; that that city and the *matériel* that we should leave in it, if the capitulation took place, would doubtless be more profitable to him than the dubious success of an attack which might

perhaps cost him a third part of his army. General Chasteler replied by denying the justness of my observations, and concluded by saying, " But what terms do you pretend to?" " The same terms," I replied, " that Napoleon granted to Marshal Wurmser at Mantua, when that commander was in precisely the same situation as Marshal Saint Cyr is now." After a long debate, this basis was adopted ; and it was agreed in consequence that the corps of troops shut up in Dresden should march out with the honours of war, to proceed to France, having at the head of each column a piece of cannon and a hundred men in arms, carrying away their eagles, baggage, &c.; that the remainder should lay down their arms, &c. &c. The capitulation was drawn up according to these preliminaries, and signed and ratified on the following day.

As soon as the posts which we had agreed to deliver up to them had been occupied by the Austrians, and the articles of the capitulation faithfully executed by both parties, the French troops marched out in three divisions, at one day's march distant from each other, by the route, the direction and stages of which had been regulated. Generals Baron Klenau, Marquis Chasteler, and Count Tolstoy came to visit Marshal Saint Cyr. In the course of this interview, at which I was present, the conversation turned chiefly on the probable consequences of the late events, and Count Tolstoy talking with me about the passage of the Rhine, and the invasion of France, said, " You may be certain that peace will not be made any where but at Paris, after we have returned in your capital the visit which you paid us at Moscow." " I hope," said I, " you will meet with greater difficulties than those which we overcame." Baron Klenau told us that he had sent the capitulation to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns: but he did not express the slightest doubt but that his conduct would be approved, and there had been no thought of waiting for their approbation to execute all the clauses of the capitulation. It was agreed that General Count Durosnel, governor of Dresden, and myself, should go direct to France to give an account to the Emperor. Passports were accordingly given to us, and an Austrian officer was sent with us to serve as a safeguard. We set out post, taking but few persons with us. I had with me my son-in-law Saint Didier, and my aide-de-camp Captain Poncet. Marshal Saint Cyr set out at the same time

with his staff and his equipages, following the march of the third column.

We met with no accident or obstacle on our journey to the banks of the Rhine. We had stopped a few moments at Carlsruhe, and had passed Rastadt, when we were stopped at Ettlingen by Count Paer, aide-de-camp to Prince Schwartzenberg, whom we had known at Paris. He announced to us with much politeness, that the capitulation of Dresden not having been ratified by the allied sovereigns, he had received orders to oppose our return to France, and to conduct us to the head-quarters of General Giulay, who was at Baden. Our protests against this breach of faith were useless; and on the following day we turned back, and reached at an early hour General Giulay's head-quarters. He received us very well, ordered coffee to be brought, and informed us that he had orders to send us to the head-quarters of the sovereigns at Francfort, whence we should probably be taken back to Dresden; that Marshal Saint Cyr was to return to that place with his garrison, and that every thing was to be replaced in the same situation as it was before the capitulation, which was disapproved by the sovereigns. Count Giulay seemed a little embarrassed by our observations on this act, which was without a parallel in military annals. I reminded him in particular, that we had acted quite otherwise, and especially towards himself, at the time of the capitulation of Ulm, with the execution of which I had been specially entrusted by the Emperor Napoleon, and that after this capitulation, by which twenty-two Austrian generals were our prisoners, he, Count Giulay, having expressed a wish to proceed immediately to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, I had transmitted his proposal to the Emperor Napoleon, and had obtained passports for him to go to Vienna. He testified his regret, and did not dissemble that he blamed the manner in which we were treated.

We set out for Francfort, taking the road called the Land Strasse, and passing through the cantonments of the allied army. When we arrived at Darmstadt, the residence of the landgrave, we met General Herzogenbosch, belonging to the staff of Prince Schwartzenberg, who had orders to cause us to stop at Darmstadt, and to remain there with us, till he should receive new instructions respecting our further destination. General Durosnel and myself were much cha-

grined by this arrangement; we greatly desired to have a conference with Prince Schwartzenberg, the commander-in-chief of the allied armies, respecting the violation of the capitulation of Dresden; we were anxious to protest, in the name of Marshal Saint Cyr and his corps, against so dishonourable and unparalleled a proceeding. We flattered ourselves that this circumstance, and the conversations said to have taken place between the Baron de St. Aignan and the prince generalissimo, might have some influence on the pretended overtures for peace, which had been talked of for some days past; but they did us the honour to fear our remonstrances against an unjustifiable breach of faith.

After having stayed five days at Darmstadt, we learned from General Herzogenbosch, that Marshal Saint Cyr had rejected the ridiculous and insolent proposal that had been made to him, and that after having energetically protested, he had acknowledged himself a prisoner of war, or rather had given up himself and his army to the abuse of force, and want of faith. In consequence it had been decided that we should be conducted to Hungary, whither the French columns and the marshal himself went under escort, passing through Bohemia.

We set out on the following day, with the Austrian officer who had constantly accompanied us hitherto. We passed through Nuremburg, entered Bohemia at Eger, and joined Marshal Saint Cyr at Carlsbad, where his very bad health had obliged him to stop, and where he obtained permission to reside during his captivity.

Every thing that had belonged to the garrison of Dresden was dispersed and sent to Hungary. Our route was so laid down as not to pass through Prague, so that I missed the pleasure of seeing that city. My equipages joined me at the little town of Brandeis, four leagues from Prague, whither my cousin Combes conducted them, after having deposited in a safe house at Töplitz all the papers of my office.

After having organised our melancholy caravan, and caused our superfluous equipages to be sold at Prague, almost for nothing, we set out for Hungary, stopping at the stages which had been pointed out for us. We first took the great road to Vienna, as far as Iglau, and then by detestable cross roads, leaving Brünn on our left, we arrived at Holitsch, in Hungary, where there is a fine country-seat

and a great experimental farm belonging to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria. Having entered Hungary, we came to Tyrnau, a small town six leagues from Presburg, where our residence was fixed: we were welcomed by the principal inhabitants, and particularly by the Prince Bishop Ernest von Schwartzenberg, brother to the commander-in-chief. General Durosnel, Baron de St. Didier, Combes, and myself, had a simple and very comfortable household establishment at our joint expense, and in this abode, which was indeed rather dull, we passed a long and severe winter, as tranquil and as happy as we could be, far from our country, and under such painful, such deplorable circumstances. We frequently received news from Vienna; we anxiously studied the movements of the armies; and our conjectures, founded on the official reports of the enemy, several times led us to conceive hopes which were soon disappointed.

During our captivity I received an honourable mark of esteem and kind remembrance from Count Wrbna, high chamberlain to the Emperor of Austria. He asked and obtained for me and the officers who were with me, permission either to reside at Vienna, or to travel, as it should be agreeable to me, in his Majesty's dominions. Neither I nor my companions made use of this permission: we were very well situated at Tyrnau, and did not think of seeking, in the capital or elsewhere, means to divert the regret which we felt in regard to the reverses of our armies, and the dangers that threatened our country. I did not make use of this permission till a long time afterwards, when after the catastrophe of the counter-revolution we had only to expect our exchange or recall.

Soon after our arrival at Tyrnau, my honourable friend Madame de Traunwieser, whom I had informed of our destination, as soon as we entered Bohemia, caused me an agreeable surprise by coming to visit me in my captivity at Tyrnau, with her daughter, who was to have been married to my friend General Louis Romœuf. She wished, she said, that it had been possible for her to stay with us, and divert the ennui of our captivity. I was deeply affected by this proof of esteem and constant friendship. When I left Tyrnau, about the 15th of April, to go to the baths of Baden, near Vienna, Madame de Traunwieser came there to see me with her daughter, and it was there that this angelic creature was attacked by a spitting of blood, the fatal

symptom of the disorder which carried her off a year afterwards. At that time I had obtained permission for my son-in-law Saint Didier to return to France, and the necessary passports to proceed across the position occupied by the allied armies. He arrived at Paris a few days before the capture of the capital and the abdication of Napoleon. I returned from Baden to Vienna, where I waited a few days for permission to return to France, and for my passports.

During this last stay at Vienna, I met with several persons whom I had known, and who had resided in the Austrian dominions ever since their emigration. I visited the Abbé Bonneval, formerly Bishop of Grasse, and brother to Count Bonneval, my old travelling companion in the East, to whom the Emperor of Austria had given a prebend in the cathedral of St. Stephen; he was a man of solid judgment, who foresaw with much perspicacity the consequences of the late events. I saw also the old Count de St. Priest, one of my first patrons. I met likewise with the celebrated Gentz, the indefatigable advocate of the Holy Alliance; and I paid a visit to the Prince de Ligne, whose lively wit could not grow old.

I set out for Paris with my friend Combes, and my nephew Poncet. At Strasburg I stopped only one day with the family of his brother, one of the most enlightened men I have met with and whom I tenderly beloved. I returned to my family—to my own house, after an absence of two years and a half. In that space of time, what events had occurred! The world was changed.

CHAPTER XII.

Aspect of affairs on my return to France—General direction for the liquidation of the accounts of the army—The Abbé de Montesquiou—Audience of the Count d'Artois at St. Cloud—Proposal made to the King to appoint me minister of marine—General direction of the revenue of the invalids—Retrograde course of the government of the Restoration—Return of Napoleon from the Isle of Elba—Removal of Marshal Soult from the post of minister of war—Audience of the King—Mission to General Oudinot at Chaumont—Return to Paris—Audience of the Count d'Artois—Departure of the King and the Royal Family—Arrival of the Emperor—Visit to the Tuileries—Exclusion from the council of state—Nomination to the general direction of the national guards—The Emperor's plan for the campaign—Battles of Ligny and Waterloo—The armies before Paris—Negotiations with King Louis XVIII.—Defence of the capital—Memorial delivered to the King by Marshal Oudinot—Disgrace and dismissal after the King's return to Paris—Policy of the King, and state of affairs—Historical labours—Recall to the council of state—Commission of the defence of the kingdom—Refusal to elevate me to the peerage—Re-actionary course of the government—Accession of the aristocratic party to power—My exclusion from the council of state—Resumption of my historical labours.

When I had learned at Vienna the failure of the strategetic operation by which Napoleon had endeavoured to repair the faults of some of his generals, and to crown by a master-stroke his admirable campaign in France—when the news of his abdication reached us, my first feeling was to envy the fate of those who were to accompany him to the Island of Elba, and who would follow his fortunes in the day of adversity. It seemed to me that those who had attended him in his glorious career ought to have coveted this distinction as the greatest of all the favours that he had lavished on them, and it is precisely because I had received from him more marks of esteem than particular favours, that this act of devotedness would have had more value in my own eyes. Such were my thoughts when I arrived in Paris. With the exception of the small number whom he had honoured with his choice to accompany him in his retreat, and some others who had been too near his person in consequence of the high offices they had held, or the share they had in his friendship, I found all my companions already detached from the imperial system, and either al-

ready entered, or ready to enter, into that of the restoration, which had now become the law of necessity: it seemed as if the government that had just ceased was nothing more than an historical recollection. The new order of things imposed new duties; I conformed to it like others, and the more easily as the commencement and a great part of my military career had been under the government of the Bourbons. Since, according to all appearances, and for the common interest of themselves and the nation, they came to rally the friends of liberty round the constitutional monarchy, and to consolidate the real advantages which the revolution had given to the nation, *principatum et libertatem*, I was acting according to the political opinions which I had always professed. I abhorred the means which had been employed; I saw with deep mortification the soil of my country trodden on by foreigners; but I was consoled, as much as it was possible to be, by the effects which I hoped from this new compact between the revolution and the ancient dynasty.

Several of my former friends, and persons belonging to the old court, to whom I had been known before the revolution, thought of me, desiring that I should be placed in a situation in which I might make myself useful to the King's government. But the principal offices, for one of which I might have been qualified, were already filled. General Dupont, the minister of war, offered me his services with the greatest sincerity. I abstained from every kind of solicitation, either direct or indirect. M. Dambrai, the keeper of the seals, having given to the council of state an organisation which resembled the form of the ancient council, I was appointed a member, as well as General du Laulois, as *conseiller d'Etat d'épée*, an empty honorary title without any determined functions.

A short time afterwards I was included in a commission of general officers, who were appointed to examine and to appreciate the services of the officers of all ranks who had served abroad, either in the army of Condé, or in that of the allied powers, and who claimed their re-establishment in the French service, or pensions, or the promotion, of which they had been deprived during their emigration, or, in short, rewards, indemnities, and means of subsistence. This commission, of which Count de Vioménil was president, was composed of three general officers of the old

royal army and of three others of the imperial army. I was one of the latter. An ordinance of the King fixed, according to the proposal of the minister of war, the scale of the commissions to be given to the numerous claimants according to the titles which they should produce.

It was at this time that Marshal Macdonald brought forward, in the chamber of peers, a motion to grant a reasonable indemnity to all the emigrants who had lost their property, or even their employments, in the service. The refusal of this generous proposal led in the sequel to immense sacrifices, and caused pretensions to be raised which might have been satisfied at much less expense. This act of justice would have met with only a momentary opposition in public opinion, and would have prevented the abuse of the concession of rank in the army, and a multitude of inconveniences which in the future course of events it was impossible to avoid. The several documents exhibited to the commission could not be verified and judged of, except on trust, and on certificates which it was but too easy to obtain from the chief officers of the armies in which the applicants had served.

In the month of August following, on the fête of St. Louis, I was nominated commander of the military order of St. Louis.

The minister of finance, my old and honourable friend Baron Louis, had just laid down the true basis for the restoration of public credit, by obtaining a decision, that the arrears of all the branches of the service should be paid without deduction. He proposed to the minister of war to assign to me the liquidation of the arrears of his department, with the title of director-general. I accepted with pleasure this place, which enabled me to be of service to my old brethren in arms, and devoted myself entirely to this immense task. I engaged as my principal secretary my friend Combes, of whose zeal and strict probity I had had so many proofs. He resumed under me the post which he had filled before the Russian campaign. My offices were organised in as many divisions as there had been chief armies. I chose six intendant-commissaries who had been at the head of the administration of the corps of the army, and who by that means had acquired a more particular knowledge of the composition of each of those armies, as well as of places and events. To each of these divisions I added some

inspectors of reviews and commissaries, well acquainted with the details of the service, and skilful in keeping accounts. Thus I was certain of obtaining correct reports of all the applications, the forms of which I prescribed, as well as the production of the necessary documents. I had a particular office for the classification of the claims, and fixed a certain date, beyond which no claim would be received. In the first six months of my administration, I had already collected and put in order the papers relative to more than thirty thousand applications, and had liquidated credits to the amount of three millions in small sums, principally for arrears of gratuities and losses in the field, which were fully proved. When on the report of the intendant-commissary I had verified and decided the settlements, they were sent to the central committee of liquidation of all the departments, of which General Count Dejean was president. They were to be returned to me if there was any error, or want of form, in this last verification, which happened only in three or four cases, during the whole time that I had the management of this important concern.

One of my friends, M. Becquey, formerly my colleague in the Legislative Assembly, and who afterwards filled the office of director-general of the high roads (des ponts et chaussées), then held the post of chief secretary in the department of the interior, under the Abbé de Montesquiou, with whom I had been acquainted during the Legislative Assembly, but had had very little intercourse since that time. M. Becquey introduced me to him, and I had every reason to be gratified by his reception, and the proofs of confidence which he gave me. I saw him frequently, and heard him express a sincere desire to facilitate the progress of the constitutional government. He possessed the entire confidence of the King and combated sincerely the intrigues of the courtiers, and of the counter-revolutionary party, which, seduced by the example of the imperial government, the basis and the resources of which it so ill-understood, desired to have nothing of a representative government but the forms, under the mask of which it fancied that it could re-establish the royal authority, without constraint. I owe this justice to the Abbé de Montesquiou, that he was irritated with these vain efforts, and clearly foresaw the consequences of such mistaken policy. I however differed in opinion with this minister on several important points. I could not compre-

hend or account for the contradictions into which he sometimes fell. How could a man of so much sense and keen observation, conceive a representative government without the liberty of the press, to which he was a declared enemy?

A short time after my return to Paris, I had the satisfaction to meet one of the companions of my youth, Chevalier de Puységur, brother to my first patron in the army, Count de Puységur, formerly minister of war. I had not seen him, and had very seldom opportunity to hear of him, since his emigration with the Count d'Artois, in whose service he was as one of his gentlemen. He had never quitted him, and the prince had no friend more faithful, more sincere, and more averse to all spirit of intrigue. He was accordingly much attached to him and never ceased to give him proofs of it to the end of his life. M. de Puységur, loaded with proofs of affection, died almost in the arms of the Count d'Artois. He had not returned to France with his royal highness, having stopped in England to settle some of the prince's affairs, and did not join him at the Pavilion Marsan till the month of May. He was appointed captain of one of the two companies of the guard of Monsieur. Notwithstanding the difference of our opinions, I found my friend as moderate in his, as I had always been in my constitutional opinions, since the commencement of the revolution. We agreed very well together, and our communications were as sincere as our friendship. He presented me to Monsieur, who received me with extreme kindness, and expressed his desire to see me appointed to some important place under the government. In consequence of this kind feeling, his royal highness sent for me to Saint Cloud, whither he had retired for the recovery of his health. He received me in the cabinet of the Emperor Napoleon, where every object reminded me, like a dream, of other times and other circumstances. The prince asked me many questions respecting the army, which I easily answered.

I pointed out, according to my knowledge and experience, the means of conciliating the affections of the brave soldiers, and of observing a due proportion in reconciling their interests, and their just claims with those of the small number of emigrant officers whose services might still be useful. I pointed out the dangers of a change of system with respect to the army, and all the advantage which might be derived from it to consolidate the new order of things. Proceeding

then to more general considerations, the Prince asked me what I thought of public opinion with respect to the restoration of the ancient dynasty. I hesitated at first, and declined giving a positive answer. The Prince, however, encouraged me to tell him frankly my real opinion. "Well, then," said I, "your royal highness has yourself answered the question by a memorable expression. I am assured that, on entering Paris, you said, like a worthy descendant of Henry IV., 'Nothing will be changed—there is only one Frenchman more!' Never lose sight of this noble engagement. Forget the past. You have no need to recur to it. Consider yourselves as a new race, just adopted by the nation; you have to gain its affections. Of the three generations which you find in France, one only, that to which I belong, which is by far the weakest and the least numerous, recognises its ancient sovereigns, under whose government they passed their childhood and their youth. The two other generations do not know you. They saw in their youth the commencement of the revolution, or they have been born with it during the storm, when nothing called to mind the ancient dynasty." The Prince received with an air of surprise language which appeared to him too strong, but without manifesting any discontent. I dwelt on the necessity of entering, without reservation, into the national interests, not such as they might be conceived according to antiquated data, but such as they had been made by the revolution, the lapse of time, and the course of events. I added, that in my conscience I believed that this was the only means of stifling the last germs of republicanism, and of consolidating the limited monarchy. I developed this proposition, applying it to the formation and the regimen of the new court, the administration, and the army.

The Prince appeared satisfied with my sincerity, and was pleased to tell me that he considered it as an unequivocal proof of my devotedness. A short time afterwards he proved it by a great favour, namely, by seconding the proposal which the Abbé de Montesquiou made to the King, to appoint me minister of marine, when the death of M. Malouet rendered that post vacant. His Majesty, who had at first given his consent, was induced to change his mind, probably by M. de Blacas, and Count Beugnot was preferred to me.

I continued with the most active zeal the liquidation of

the accounts of the armies, and flattered myself that I should terminate it in the second year of my administration, when Marshal Soult, who had succeeded General Dupont as minister of war, thought that it would be more advantageous to combine, in the several divisions of his department, the liquidation of the arrears with the accounts of the current service. I think he was induced to adopt this measure, by the representation which was made to him of greater facility in the verification, and greater celerity in the despatch of the business. But his views could not be fulfilled under his short administration, and still less under his successors. This great settlement met with more obstacles, and gave rise to more disputes. Marshal Saint Cyr was obliged once more to centralise the operation, and to form a special division; ten years were scarcely sufficient to complete it.

On suppressing the general direction of the liquidation of the army accounts, Marshal Soult, who has never ceased to give me proofs of his particular esteem, proposed to the King to appoint me director-general of the treasury of the Invalids, with the same salary which I had as director of the liquidation of the army accounts. At the same time he had appointed M. Carayon (since receiver-general) to the office of cashier of the Invalids. Though a royal ordinance regulating the functions of the place which was intended for me, very considerably extended them, by adding to the fund of the treasury the produce of the sales of military stores, and several other sources of revenue, which would increase this particular fund, and render its management and superintendence very useful to the interesting object for which it was created, I at first refused the place, which appeared to me to be out of my sphere, but as the marshal insisted, I accepted it, and devoted myself to this new labour. About this time I was nominated grand cordon of the legion of honour, or according to the new denomination, grand cross of the royal order of the legion of honour.

The apparent tranquillity of the public mind had inspired the partisans of the ancient regime with ill-founded confidence. The miracle of the restoration of the Bourbons appeared to them to have operated a complete counter-revolution, to have effaced in one day the recollections of thirty years, to have blotted out at one stroke the traces of what they called a long and futile rebellion, as if they alone had

lived and acted in a real and legal manner, and all the rest of the French nation had existed and exercised its moral and physical faculties, only in a fantastical manner. They were so infatuated that they could not conceive there would be any delay in deducing from the restoration all the consequences which they perceived in it, so easy did it appear to them to satisfy their resentment and to fulfil their hopes. It was thus that by alarming every interest, by violating all propriety, by depriving the army of its eagles, &c., they roused the passions which had been struck with stupor, and alienated the opinion of the great majority of the nation.

The fermentation went on increasing, and the government seemed scarcely to perceive it. It was on the point of being surprised by a formidable conspiracy, which had no connexion with the project of Napoleon, when the latter, without waiting for the dissolution of the Congress of the Allied Sovereigns, believing himself threatened with a new violation of the treaty which he had concluded with them, and with being sent out of Europe, quitted the Isle of Elba, and landed on the coast of Provence, with his officers, and the handful of brave men who had accompanied him in his voluntary exile. This enterprise, the most daring that ever was attempted, struck terror into the palace of the Tuileries, and revealed too late to the court and the counsellors of Louis XVIII. their dangers, and the disastrous effects of their inconsiderate conduct.

When it was no longer possible to doubt the return of Napoleon, I considered it as the greatest misfortune that could happen to France. For several days I doubted of the Emperor's determination to come to Paris; and though I was well aware of the state of the public mind, and of the general disaffection, I could not persuade myself that Napoleon could collect, in so short a time as was requisite, the means to undertake such an aggression, when he had so many obstacles to overcome, and when the least that might have been opposed to him in his first marches, might have stopped him and defeated his attempt.

Amidst the various conjectures which I heard upon this rash enterprise, the conception of his plan never entered my mind. I could not believe that his name alone, and a handful of brave men who represented the old grand army would suffice to awaken every dormant recollection, to electrify the whole nation, and to make the tri-coloured

flag fly from steeple to steeple, even to the palace of the Tuileries. The desertion of the first troops that he met with, the occupation of Grenoble, the passage of the Rhone at Lyons, in spite of the efforts of Marshal Macdonald and the presence of the Count d'Artois, soon increased the alarm and the confusion.

Being released from my oath to the Emperor, and bound by that which I had taken to the new government and the ancient dynasty, I wished that this strange invasion might be opposed, and was ready to concur in a just resistance, if it should be thought fit to employ me in it. Marshal Soult, on whose conduct the terrified courtiers, crying treason, had cast odious suspicions, delivered to the King the portfolio of the war department, which was given, on the proposal of the Abbé Montesquiou, to General Clarke, the Duke de Feltre, the last minister of war under the Emperor. No greater fault could have been committed under such critical circumstances, than that of disgusting and setting aside a man like Marshal Soult. I am convinced that he would have served the royal cause with vigour; that he would have prevented important desertions; have given to the King and the Princes energetic counsels, and probably have stopped the Emperor in his march, before he had reached the capital. The Duke de Feltre could not have that ascendancy over the army which was necessary in such a crisis. Expressing my opinion to the Abbé de Montesquiou, on the too probable issue of the inconsistent measures that were adopted, I warned him that the Emperor doubtless reckoned on the attachment of his old guard, which, not daring to disband it, they had impoliticly sent to a distance, and which, still amounting to 5000 men, formed the garrisons of Metz and Nancy. My opinion was, that if the Emperor could not join his guard, he would not venture to enter Paris; I did not suppose that the King and the princes thought of leaving the Tuileries, whatever might happen. I conscientiously fulfilled my duty, by telling the chief minister what I thought, that the Emperor ought to be defied to lay siege to the palace of the Tuileries.

On this supposition, being asked what was the most advisable and the most necessary step to be taken, I answered that the most important measure was to keep the old guard at Metz, to treat them well, and since, according to the last accounts, Marshal Oudinot was content with their spirit, en-

deavours should be made to secure them, by constituting them the royal guard; but that, above all things, care should be taken not to oppose them to Napoleon. Could it be believed that those old soldiers would bear the look of the hero? that they would turn a deaf ear to the command of him who had so long led them to victory? that they would willingly attack their comrades, the faithful companions of his exile to the Isle of Elba, who came to restore to the immortal phalanx its eagles and its tri-colored standard? "Well," said the minister, "the fault is committed. Orders have been sent to Marshal Oudinot to set out with the guard and proceed with it to Dijon to join the troops under Marshal Ney. But we have no news by the telegraph; there is perhaps time to revoke the order; come with me to the King." We went together. He entered first, and in a few minutes I was introduced into his Majesty's cabinet. It was on the 16th of March at ten o'clock at night. "Monsieur Dumas," said the King, "you think then that it is dangerous to employ the old guard?" "Yes, Sire!" I answered. "I think that those brave men, who have been too ill-used, who have been too much mistrusted, would have faithfully guarded and may still save your Majesty: but I think also that those troops may ruin you if they are enabled to join the Emperor Napoleon." "Well;—will you be yourself the bearer of the counter-order?" "I am ready to do my duty." "Go, then, and tell the Duke de Feltre to make out the order for Marshal Oudinot not to leave Metz, and set out immediately."

I did not lose a moment. At Chalons I learned that the movement of the guard had commenced two days before, and that Marshal Oudinot had set out with the chasseurs, forming the first column. I proceeded to Vitry and thence to Chaumont, where the chasseurs had already arrived, and where I found Marshal Oudinot in extreme embarrassment. All the guard had been tampered with by the emissaries of Napoleon, and the departure from Metz had served them admirably. Marshal Oudinot showed me an order which had just been delivered to him, and which was signed by General Bertrand as major-general; it directed that the whole of the guard should proceed by forced marches to Sens, the imperial head-quarters. "They are all resolved to go," said he; "I can do nothing. They respect me, but watch me closely, and will not obey me. Unless I find

some means to escape, they will conduct me to the Emperor." I left Chaumont before daybreak, and hastened to send back to Marshal Oudinot the horses of the last relay, that he likewise might be able to leave Chaumont, without being hindered by the troops. I met the adjutant of the regiment of grenadiers, who was going to prepare the quarters; I afterwards passed through the column, at the head of which was General Friant, who doubtless was so obliging as not to recognise me, and let me pass. I made all haste to return to Paris, and saw on the road the effect of the news of the march of the old guard. At all the posts my carriage was surrounded with people, who cried "The Emperor for ever!" At Meaux I met the Marshal Duke of Belluno, who was hastening to Chalons, to take the command of the troops that were assembling there. I greatly astonished him by informing him of all that I had seen and heard on the road; for he was still full of confidence in the measures that had been taken, and in the resolution of opposing the entrance of Napoleon into Paris.

I arrived at Paris on the same day, the 19th of March, about ten o'clock at night. I went first to the minister of war, to make my report to him. I found him collecting papers and so absorbed, that he scarcely heard me, and only told me to go to the Tuileries, and inform the King of the march of the old guard. As I crossed the court-yard of the Tuileries, I saw the carriages prepared: I went to the apartments of Monsieur: I was told that he was with the King; I went up to the throne-room, where I found several officers of the household of the princes. Some moments afterwards Monsieur came out of the cabinet, and perceiving me, took me aside into the recess of the first window: "Well," said he, "what have you seen?" I gave him an account of the movements of the guard, which, doubling its marches, would certainly arrive at Fontainebleau the next day. I asked him if he had any orders to give me. "None: we set out immediately, but we shall soon return. Stay here; do what you will be directed to do, and depend upon it we shall see you again."

Accompanying the Prince to the Pavilion Marsan, I asked the Duke of Fitz-James, whether Monsieur had sent his orders to Count de Puységur, who had gone a fortnight before to his family, at Rabastens near Toulouse. "I do

not think," said he, "that he can have been informed: write to him to remain where he is, and to wait." I did just the contrary; and fearing the troubles which would take place in the south, I wrote to Count de Puységur to go to Spain.

I returned home deeply affected, and foreseeing the misfortunes which this prodigious event would bring upon my country, I was indignant at the intrigues which had led to it, and at the weakness of the councils in consequence of which the flight of the Royal Family had been determined upon. Two days afterwards, yielding to the importunities of my family and my friends, I went to Napoleon's levee with a crowd of generals and officers. The Emperor stopped before me, and said, "You have been charged with a very useful operation?" "Yes, Sire, with the liquidation of the accounts of the armies; and I have co-operated with zeal in an act of justice." "It is very well," said he. As I could not doubt that he had been informed of the mission which I had just executed, I retired to my country house at Villepinte, where I learned that I had not been comprehended by Napoleon in the re-appointment of the old council of state. I was the only one of the members of the section of war who was excepted.

The old minister and all the principal functionaries of the imperial government had been recalled to their offices. Marshal Davoust was appointed minister of war instead of the Duke de Feltre, who had emigrated, and Carnot was made minister of the interior. I received to my great astonishment (and I first learnt it from the "Moniteur"), my nomination to the place of director-general of the national guards of the empire, and orders to go to the minister of the interior, to organise and form them according to the last imperial decrees. My brave comrade, General Durosnel, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, had just been appointed commander of the national guard of Paris.

Such was the conduct which under these critical circumstances I was led to pursue. I felt extreme pain, and for the first time in my long career the opposition between my opinion on the late events, and the situation in which I found myself placed. Though my honourable friend Marshal Davoust was minister of war, and Marshal Soult, who always loaded me with proofs of esteem, was appointed to fill the post of major-general, instead of the Prince of Wa-

gram, who had retired into Germany, I was not proposed to fill my old post in the general staff of the army. Napoleon was far from treating me with confidence and employing me about his person; but he thought that I should be of use to him in the levee of a great reserve of national guards. I have learnt that he by no means reckoned on my attachment, but on my probity, and my punctuality in fulfilling the task which I had accepted. He did me justice; I devoted myself to it without reserve; I fulfilled with zeal the duty of co-operating in the defence of our territory, which was evidently threatened with a second invasion, and I could not accuse myself of breach of faith. In the short space of six weeks I organised and got ready to march, about ninety thousand national guards, which were to be sent to the fortresses on the frontiers that were threatened. In the execution of this duty I acted with Carnot, with whom I had had no communication since the events of the 18th of Fructidor, and the proscription in which I had been comprehended with him. I had every reason to be satisfied with his behaviour to me, and had opportunities of seeing the extent of his knowledge and the correctness of his judgment.

On the departure of the Emperor for the army, and just when he was going to open the campaign, Carnot communicated to me what he knew of the plan that Napoleon had laid down, and the success of which appeared to me to be at least very probable, "He is going," said Carnot, "to throw himself in a mass between the Prussian and the English army. He will arrive on the Sambre in time to prevent their junction, to attack and beat them separately. From what we know of the respective position of the cantonments of these two armies, he will cut off the Prussian army, drive back the remnants of it to the Meuse, and then attack and pursue the English army on the Lower Scheldt."

Marshal Davoust, the minister of war, whom I often saw, treated me with the same friendship and the same confidence that he had always manifested towards me. He was very uneasy about the opening of this campaign, the first operations of which would necessarily be decisive. It was against his will that he had accepted the war department. He had wished, but could not obtain permission, to accompany Napoleon, and to command his right wing.

General Grouchy, who was promoted to the rank of marshal, had been preferred before him, because Napoleon thought that the activity and firmness of Marshal Davoust would be more useful to him at Paris than on the field of battle.

Though I had seen with much pain the return of Napoleon, and though all that had passed at Paris from the 20th of March to the opening of the campaign had only increased my apprehensions; though I was convinced that many other miracles were required to conjure the storm which had arisen and increased during our impolitic procrastination, I nevertheless sincerely desired the success of our arms. I wished as ardently as the most devoted friends of Napoleon that he might triumph over the difficulties in which he had involved himself. A great victory, nothing less than the destruction of the English army, could alone re-establish the ascendancy of his genius, the fascination of his glory, and justify the rashness of his enterprise. The news of the battle gained over the Prussian army alone, and of the sanguinary combat of Marshal Ney at Quatre Bras with the van-guard of the English army, gave me great joy: it was precisely the half of the operation conceived by Napoleon. I was one of the first who learnt this news at the residence of Prince Joseph, late King of Spain, who on arriving at Paris had sent for the officers of his former household, who had accompanied him to Naples and to Spain, such as Stanislaus Girardin, General Desprez, myself, and some others. The more this important success appeared to change the face of affairs, the more impatiently did we expect the result of this victory and its probable consequences, that is to say, the attack and the defeat of the English army.

The disasters of Waterloo confounded every hope, severed, as at Leipzig, the thread of the destinies of France, and the sudden return of the Emperor to the capital excited general dismay and dispelled the last illusions.

The evil was irreparable, and that mighty genius who had twice raised his fallen eagles, and led them back to victory, was now totally powerless, and unable to find either means to rally, or resources with which he might have organised temporary resistance to the combined efforts of all the armies of Europe.

Extreme despondency prevailed. The disorder and corruptions in the councils, the exaggeration of desperate

measures, distrust, and desertion, brought on in a few days the dissolution of a state of things which was merely provisional, which had no basis, and the imperfect attempts of which had been abandoned to the decision of arms.

The abdication of Napoleon in favour of his son, an act which could not be carried into execution, increased the confusion to the uttermost. He attempted to resume the command of the army which had retreated to Paris, and was closely pursued by the Prussians under Blucher, and the English army under Wellington. His friends succeeded in diverting him from a resolution which could not but aggravate the evils of an inevitable invasion, and would have no happy issue for himself, unless to enable him to meet a glorious death, which he doubtless wished for. He resolved to quit France; he could not and would not separate from the most faithful companions of his misfortunes, a sentiment which was honourable to himself and to them. He ventured to depend on the honour of the English nation, which was betrayed by a corrupt administration, that debasing itself, even to serve as an instrument of vengeance, imprinted an indelible stain on the English character by the most infamous violation of the rights of nations and of the laws of humanity.

Marshal Davoust, who had taken the command of the army, adopted prudent and vigorous measures. The circuit of the capital had been fortified on an excellent plan laid down by General Haxo of the engineers. A chain of lofty entrenchments, armed with numerous cannon, secured against any sudden attack the whole right bank of the Seine, from Vincennes to Neuilly. Advantage was taken of the heights of Belleville, of the eminence of Chaumont, of that of Les Cinq Moulins, of Montmartre, and of the yet unfinished canal connecting the principal points with St. Denis, which was protected by inundations. In this position the marshal collected the troops as they arrived, and General Blucher, having ventured to advance between Pantin and la Villette, soon found that this position, though very extensive, could not be carried by assault at any point. The cross fire of the artillery soon forced him to withdraw the cavalry which he had spread in the plain. The English army debouched soon after, and met with the same obstacles.

Marshal Davoust had fixed his head-quarters at la Vil-

lette, in the house of M. Holstein; I visited him there, and went with him to his outposts on the canal St. Denis, at the moment when the enemy had commenced a fire of musketry, in order to reconnoitre the line of the canal. The marshal did not conceal from himself what must be the issue of this situation; he knew that King Louis XVIII. was coming with all speed, and that as soon as the Austrian and Russian armies, which had already passed the Rhine, and were on their way to Paris, should be able to act with the Prussians and English, there would be no means to prevent the occupation of the capital and the re-establishment of the royal government, or to find sufficient resources to keep up the war in the interior of the kingdom. He had no confidence in the measures taken by the provisional government, or in the good faith of the minister Fouché who exercised the chief influence, and was justly suspected of a secret understanding with the enemy. I participated in the opinion of Marshal Davoust, but hoped that some of the ministers, who had accompanied the King to Ghent, would give him prudent advice on this occasion. I believed that that enlightened prince, who could not conceal from himself either the faults which he had been led to commit, or the state of the public mind, which had rendered the success of Napoleon's daring enterprise so easy, would act this time with generous prudence, would frankly interpose between the nation and foreigners; lastly, that hastening to pardon subjects whom he had not himself conquered, like Henry IV. entirely by French arms, he would imitate the example of his illustrious ancestor, and seize the opportunity of regaining their affection, by appearing as a guardian angel, and by himself negotiating an honourable peace, instead of delivering them up to the resentment and the discretion of the eternal enemies of France.

It was with this view, and in this hope that Marshal Davoust, who resolved to defend the positions round Paris as long as he was able, had a conference with some of the persons who were, if not entrusted with power from the King, yet authorised to prepare the way for reconciliation. He received these commissioners, and after having communicated to the principal officers of the army the King's intentions, which they were ordered to state, he introduced them into the council, that they might themselves give an explanation in the presence of the generals. The motives

of the marshal in this very frank proceeding were variously interpreted. On such occasions there are always men who, without being able to deceive themselves respecting the too probable issue of the crisis, take the easy advantage of showing themselves more rigorous and more obstinate.

Meantime Generals Blucher and Wellington were eager to finish, with the Prussian and English armies, the conquest and the reduction of the capital that they might not have to share with the rest of the allies that great trophy of the battle of Waterloo. Renouncing the idea of forcing the marshal's lines on the right bank of the Seine, at least in the upper part between Vincennes and St. Denis, they resolved to turn these positions, to penetrate by way of St. Germains and Versailles, to ascend the left bank, to intercept the road to Orleans, and to attack the points of defence which were scarcely traced on the side of the Montrouge. The English army commenced this flank movement, and was followed by part of the Prussian army. Marshal Davoust, judging that the object of Lord Wellington was to direct his attacks against that part on the south which was the weakest, from the nature of the ground and the unfinished state of the works, being also informed that the bridge of the Pecq, an important point, had been basely abandoned to the enemy, detached to Versailles General Excelmans with his division of cavalry. That brave officer met with, between Versailles and Saint Germains, a strong Prussian vanguard, which he defeated after a spirited engagement. This vigorous expedition obliged the enemy's columns to go a longer way about in order to debouch into the plain of Issy, by the woods of Meudon and Clamart. They were likewise impeded in their march by a heavy fire of musketry in the wood of Meudon, between the numerous English and Prussian sharp-shooters and those of the Parisian national guard, supported by detachments of the troops of the line.

While these events were passing, Marshal Davoust had caused the greater part of his troops to pass through Paris from the right bank to the left, and had disposed of them in such a manner as to support the redoubts and other works which he had provided with numerous cannon. These new arrangements were made with so much celerity and precision, that the enemy's generals, though masters of the heights of Meudon, Issy, and Clamart, did not venture to attack on the side of the plain of Grenelle, or to extend their

right, which could not have any support. It was this position, and the formidable appearance of the French army, that has given occasion to some officers to think that Marshal Davoust might have given battle to Lord Wellington and obtained decisive success. Those who have brought so unjust a reproach against one of our most illustrious warriors and best generals did not reflect that if the Marshal had acted on the offensive he could promise himself no other success than to oblige Lord Wellington to fall back, refusing to engage his right wing, which would merely have delayed the occupation of the capital for a few days, since the Austrian and Russian armies would speedily effect a junction, and in that case, besides the difficulty of retreat, that the capital would necessarily be given up to the discretion of the conquerors; and if the chance of arms in the battle of Grenelle were against us, the city of Paris, having become a field of battle, might be delivered up to the fury of the soldiery. If it be true that there was some chance of Marshal Davoust's success, which is more than doubtful, we must believe that influenced by such weighty considerations, he was generous enough to sacrifice his own glory to the safety of his fellow-citizens. Those who, like me, have been thoroughly acquainted with the character of the marshal, his unshaken firmness, and his patriotic sentiments, will do him the same justice. His measures of defence and the good order which he found means to preserve, led to the most honourable capitulation of Paris, the only one which it was possible to conclude under the circumstances, and the principal clause of which was so shamefully violated by the judicial assassination of Marshal Ney. In great reverses people seek to attribute the blame to one person alone, and the crowd of ambitious pretenders would have it believed that they foretold and decided the victory. Such has been in all ages the condition of the profession of arms. Tacitus has expressed it better before us—*Hæc est bellorum pessima conditio, prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni soli imputant.*

During the last moments of which I have just spoken, the agitation was extreme and the intrigues of the several parties equally active; the members of the two chambers and of the provisional government, who had declared the most vehemently against the dynasty of the Bourbons and for the abdication of Napoleon in favour of his son, insisted on

pushing to the last extremity a desperate resistance. They still flattered themselves that the allied sovereigns would listen to the proposals which their negotiators had been instructed to make in the name of the nation, the basis of which was to change the dynasty by raising to the throne either the King of Rome or the Duke of Orleans. These proposals, as might have been foreseen, were not listened to. The most moderate, who, since the loss of the battle of Waterloo, did not delude themselves, endeavouring to profit by the last moments and the last efforts, to avoid by a reasonable composition and by a reconciliation which was no less to the interests of the house of Bourbon than of their common country, the evils of a counter-revolutionary reaction and the consequences of a second division of the territory. The minister Fouché deceived all parties, and made his own bargain at their expense.

Before Marshal Davoust was authorised to treat for the surrender of Paris, Carnot went himself to reconnoitre the position of the army, and was convinced that nothing else could be done. King Louis XVIII. was then at Arnouville with Monsieur, the Duke de Berri, the ministers, and the principal persons who had accompanied him to Ghent. Among the persons who had remained at Paris, refraining from taking part in any thing that had been done since the arrival of Napoleon, and who had preserved their connexion with the Court, several of the most influential interposed with the King, in order to obtain this reconciliation, and give him the advantage of directing the storm which threatened France. Marshal Oudinot was of this number. He was for a time in danger, and threatened by the agitators, who wished that matters should be carried to extremity. I went to him on this occasion and proposed to him to write to the King, to make him sensible how important it was for him to imitate the conduct of his ancestor, to confide in the nation, to reconcile and preserve the army.

I drew up a memorial in which I proposed that the King should assume the tri-coloured cockade, should enter Paris without any foreign troops, and, at the head of the national guard and of the army, treat of the pacification of the country both at home and abroad. The marshal added a letter to this memorial, ordered one of his aides-de-camp to take the packet to Arnouville, and to deliver it to the King with his own hands. The marshal concluded his letter with the

following phrase :—"Sire, the national cockade is now for your Majesty what the mass was for Henry IV." The packet was delivered to the King while he was at table. He read the memorial with attention and put it in his pocket. The question was debated in the council of ministers in the King's presence. It was decided that the white cockade should be retained, and that, according to the terms of the capitulation, the city of Paris should be occupied by the allied troops. Louis XVIII. entered Paris after the retreat of the army beyond the Loire.

Being too certain of the abuse which the counter-revolutionary party would make of this disgraceful victory, and not doubting that those who had disappeared during the crisis would manifest the most ardent thirst for vengeance, I retired to my own house, and without dissembling the false position into which the force of events had drawn me, I had reason to think myself happy in not being included in the list of persons proscribed. A short time afterwards my friend Marshal Oudinot made, unknown to me, a very obliging application to the princes, and made them acquainted with my situation and my conduct during the Hundred Days. This step had no other effect than to secure my personal tranquillity. I did not appear at court. I lost my employment. The Duke de Feltre, minister of war, sent me my compulsory retirement from the service, and I had reason to believe my political and military career to be as completely as obscurely ended. My brother, Saint Marcel, who was inspector-general of the customs, had already received his dismissal, and as he had served four years in the Austrian army, as I have previously stated, he had obtained the honorary rank of lieutenant-general. My second brother, Saint Fulcrand, who was intendant of the province of Borri, in the kingdom of Naples, and master of requests, was comprehended in the catastrophe of King Joachim, and obliged to take refuge in France without finding any other means of supporting himself than my slender assistance. My son-in-law Saint Didier, prefect of the palace to the Emperor, likewise remained without any employment. Like all my brethren in arms, I had already lost my dotations in Germany and Italy. I thought only of collecting the wrecks of my fortune; I sent my brother Saint Fulcrand back to Naples, to endeavour to save the revenue which I had on the great book of the public debt, and which was threatened

with confiscation. Though he went with good passports and merely to settle private affairs, he was arrested, thrown into prison, and after having with difficulty secured my interests, obtained, as a favour, permission to go to Rome.

In these distressing circumstances I retired to my country-house at Villepinte, which was occupied by the staff of the troops of Brunswick. It had been half pillaged, and was saved from entire ravage at the moment of the invasion, by the kindness of a Prussian general, who had known me while he served with the French troops in the grand army in Russia. I patiently endured this calamity as a reverse in the fortune of war. I treated my guests as well as I could, and had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct and the good discipline which these officers maintained. When the cantonments of the army of occupation had been regulated, and the troops which commanded the environs of the capital removed to a distance, I returned to Paris.

It was during the outrageous proceedings of the Chamber of 1815 I had reason to fear that I should be included in the lists or tables of proscription which were proposed and solicited by the pretended saviours of the monarchy, and I was preparing to withdraw into Switzerland or Austria. I led a very retired life, and saw only some old friends. On the return of Count De Puységur from Spain, I received from him the most affecting proofs of kindness and faithful attachment. As I did not go to court, I had refrained from seeing him, and wrote to him to state my motives. He came to me; he spoke to the Count d'Artois of my situation, and gave him the explanations which he had asked of me, respecting my conduct during the Hundred Days. The prince recollecting the situation in which he had left me, replied to Count Puységur, "tell Dumas that I entertain no rancour, and that it would give me pleasure to see him employed."

The violence of the party of reaction made me hope that the King, enlightened by the events of 1815, would not suffer himself to be again diverted from the system of constitutional government which he had himself founded. Already the dismissal of Prince Talleyrand, and of the other ministers, Baron Louis, the Count de Jaucourt, and Marshal Saint Cyr, had made the balance incline to a counter-revolution. King Louis XVIII. in his tortuous policy, was equally afraid of becoming dependent on the aristocratic party and of appearing to be ruled by the enemies of the representative

system, or of giving too much strength to the constitutional system engrafted on the revolution.

He thought that he might preserve all the illusions of ancient royalty, and considered himself as a supreme moderator, by alternately refusing to yield to the court faction. and to enter sincerely into the legal paths of the constitution. This temporising, the violence and the boasting of the party who abused its victory; and on the other hand, the depression of the constitutional party, its *vis inertiæ*, supported by public opinion, which was mute but invariable, were likely, from the apathetic, careless, and egotistical character of the King, to produce some chances favourable to the constitutional party. Even the influence of the foreign sovereigns, whose armies occupied our finest provinces, was at that time contrary to the pretensions and the efforts of the aristocratic party; because, being well aware of the temper of the people, not only in France, but in their own dominions, they foresaw and feared a reaction, and perceived no security for the order of things which they had re-established by the force of arms, but a moderate line of conduct. This state of affairs led to the ordinance of the 5th September, 1816, the dissolution of the Chamber of 1815, and the formation of the administration, at the head of which was the Duke de Richelieu.

Under these circumstances, removed from public affairs, which had been my principal occupation during my whole career, I resolved to employ my leisure hours in continuing my historical essays, under the title *Précis des Evénemens Militaires*, which I had commenced at Hamburgh, and of which I had published two volumes in the form of a periodical. I devoted myself entirely to this work. I recomposed the first two volumes to rectify errors which had escaped me for want of authentic documents, and in order to divide the matter into chapters, according to the general plan which I had laid down.

I have continued this work, of which I published about two volumes every year, till about the middle of the year 1826, at which time the weakness of my sight obliged me to interrupt it. The whole of the work forms nineteen volumes; it comprises the history of political and military events from the renewal of hostilities after the congress of Rastadt, in 1798, to the peace of Tilsit in the month of July, 1807. This work has been extremely well received,

even in foreign countries, and I undoubtedly owe this advantage to the impartiality which I prescribed to myself, and to the scrupulous care which I have taken to consult the documents, both official and polemical, which have been published in different nations. I have been treated with much indulgence, and am not blind to the defects of my work. If I had been able to continue it, and to complete the task which I had undertaken, I intended in a new edition to correct the errors, to extend the portions which were too succinct. I should have derived information from the testimony of several contemporary writers, such as Generals Lamarque, Pelet, Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, Baron Fain, Count De Las Cases, the generals who have commented on the memoirs of the Emperor Napoleon, and many others who, like me, have concurred in recording the glorious recollections of the French armies. Foreign writers also afford a rich mine of information.

These occupations filled all my leisure time, and I found recreation from labour in arranging my country-house and garden at Villepinte. I soon felt the inadequacy of my income and the burden of the engagements which I had contracted. Seeing the spirit of party somewhat abated, and the government brought back to a course of moderation, I endeavoured to approximate to it, and obtain some employment. I was likewise induced to form this resolution from the desire of obtaining friends for my son. Marshal Saint Cyr, being reappointed minister of war, supported me with his influence. He was seconded by my old friends Baron Louis, the minister of finance, and General Dessolles, minister for foreign affairs. I was at first named counsellor of state extraordinary, and some time afterwards I was placed on the list of counsellors in ordinary, and named president of the war committee. Marshal St. Cyr having at this time formed a commission for the defence of the kingdom, composed of general officers of different arms, to determine the plans of defence of the several lines of the frontier, I was chosen to make part of this commission. It was composed, as regarded the engineer department, of General Marescot, president of the commission; of Generals Dode, Chambarlhac, Maureillan; for the artillery, of Generals Andreossy, Ruty, and Vallée; for the staff, of Generals Dessolles, Guilleminot, Saint Cyr, Nugues, and myself. General Pelet acted as secretary.

The sittings of this commission were continued for three years; they were equally interesting and instructive. After the general discussion of the principal points of this great problem, on the basis laid down by the instructions of the minister, the work on the different lines of frontier was divided between the members of the commission, each of whom was to present a memoir, to be afterwards submitted to the consideration of the whole commission. I was especially charged, with General Nugues Saint Cyr, with the southern frontier, that is to say, the Pyrenees between the two seas. When all the points to be discussed were decided, the work upon each frontier was rectified by the authors of the memoirs, and delivered to General Andreossy, who had the drawing up of the whole work. These employments, my assiduous attention at the sittings of the commission, the general sittings of the council of state, the particular sittings of the war committee, did not hinder me from continuing my *Précis des Événemens Militaires*, though this variety and multiplicity of occupations delayed, more than I could have wished, the composition and successive publication of the volumes of the work. My honourable friend, General Defrance, having been proposed by Marshal Saint Cyr, and nominated by the King to the command of the first military division, was so good as to choose my son for one of his aides-de-camp.

I had reason to be satisfied with my situation. I had regained a suitable political situation, entirely conformable to my opinions, to my sincere devotedness, and to my activity. I also received a proof of confidence by my nomination as president of the electoral college of the department la Vienne, which met at Poitiers. I was indebted for this nomination to the influence of M. Decaze, who had likewise supported my recall to the council of state. The ministers at that time endeavoured to make the constitutional party prevail, and desired to exclude from the elections only those whom they thought too violent, and who professed too eagerly republican opinions. Though I had failed at Poitiers, and the nominations had been obtained by men more advanced in opposition, I nevertheless received on my return, and from the King himself, testimonies of satisfaction. I was proposed, but too weakly supported even by my friends, for promotion to the dignity of peer of France. From the assurances that had been given

me I was entitled to believe that I should be included in it; it was judged that I had all I ought to expect. I was sensible of this disappointment, less on my own account than on that of my son, to whom my nomination would have opened an honourable and secure career, an independent political existence.

Fortune, which had smiled on me for some moments, very soon forsook me; but it also forsook the good cause, that constitutional liberty, to which my conscience tells me that I have remained constantly attached, through the course of so many storms. The horizon became darkened; the intrigues of the party which had lost power, because it had abused it, laboured within and without with an activity, an audacity, the efforts of which the too confiding constitutionalists disdained to remark and to prevent. Outstripped as they had been at the commencement of the revolution, by ardent and inconsiderate men, they had not perceived the danger of the pretexts which they gave their enemies, to colour and justify perfidious innovations. The storm grew darker, and already the congresses of the sovereigns demanded nothing less than the sacrifice of the bases of our liberties.

That most fatal event, the assassination of the Duke de Berry, completed the defeat of the constitutional party; the law of election was destroyed, and the consequences of this catastrophe were developed with fearful rapidity. The Holy Alliance, that is to say, the league of the sovereigns against constitutional principles, was alarmed at their consolidation in France, and at the germs of prosperity which the progress of manufactures fecundated under their own eyes. In the presence of their troops, which occupied our territory, foreigners saw us repair our immense losses by establishing public credit. Then the Holy Alliance raised up the aristocratic faction, whose excesses it had dreaded, sowed discord, and employed all its influence over the King's government, to corrupt the institutions guaranteed by the charter, and to give them a false direction. At this price France was delivered from the army of occupation. Louis XVIII. affecting the part of a wise moderator, feigned a desire to maintain the integrity of the constitutional law; but he really yielded to the influence of foreign governments to ensure their support, and did not dare to entrust himself to the nation, to establish on a solid foundation the

new order of things, the new state of society, that is to say, the constitutional government in all its purity, its vigour, and infallible success. From that moment every thing became vague and uncertain, in the doctrines, the laws, the measures of the government. A division arose in the ministry. Those ministers, who, since the ordinance of the fifth of September, had laboured sincerely to strengthen the representative government, and who still struggled against the intrigues of the faction and the court, General Dessolles, president of the council, Marshal Saint Cyr, minister of war, and Baron Louis, minister of finance, retired. The new ministry, in which the Duke de Richelieu resumed his place as president of the council, endeavoured to govern between the two oppositions, and only gave more strength to the anti-constitutional, or rather the counter-revolutionary party.

The injudicious law of election bore its bitter fruits; the ministry saw the deputies of the aristocratic party, who had been purchased by all sorts of concessions, arise as its enemies; it wished to support a middle system, which that party would not hear of. The constitutional opposition was still numerous and energetic; but resentment of the late violations of the constitution, and indignation at the minister who had either excited or favoured them, led to the commission of a final error, and the union of the two oppositions caused the ministry to lose the majority on which it had depended, and brought on its fall. The inevitable consequence of this resolution, which was as extraordinary as it was impolitic, was to abandon the power to the aristocratic faction, and from that moment no legal redress was to be hoped for; the constitutional party was left disarmed, and that which triumphed had no longer any obstacles to fear. It would, of course, brave public opinion with impunity, and consider its organs as useless declaimers.

The new ministers, those of the last years of the reign of Louis XVIII., who had been chosen by his successor Charles X., were but the faithful agents of the *theocratico-aristocratic* faction, a barbarous term, which completely expresses my idea. It was necessary to be either their devoted friend or their declared enemy; it was the law of the conqueror. Being obliged to serve the faction which had raised them to power, they were compelled to exact, from all the functionaries under their orders, the same submission and the

same self-denial. I naturally expected that, at the time of the first election, I should be summoned, like so many others, to vote for the candidates presented by the government, or to lose the place which I held in the council of state. I had to come to an examination with one of the ministers, the Marquis de Clermont-Tonnerre, whose political opinions I am far from participating, but for whom I have always preserved great esteem. He begged me to yield to his entreaties, in order that he might answer for me. I merely replied that I would not betray my conscience, nor degrade myself to sell my vote, or even to refrain from voting, because this duty was imposed upon me by the law; that I considered it as base to vote openly in order to obtain a kind of certificate of corruption; in a word, that not being able to dispense with my own esteem, I preferred meriting that of the government itself by rejecting a favour offered on such disgraceful terms; and that I was very sure of establishing myself in his esteem also if I needed it. Some months after I learnt by the Moniteur that I had been struck out of the list of counsellors of state in ordinary, and placed upon the extraordinary list.

From that time I had no share in public affairs; and though the privation of the fruit of my long services made me again fall into straitened circumstances, I felt no other mortification from this than from so many other events of my long and agitated career. I continued to work at my historical essays with more assiduity till the end of the year 1827, when the failure of my sight compelled me to interrupt this occupation. I was obliged to stop, as I said, at the events of the campaign of 1807 and the commencement of that of 1808.

To fulfil the engagements which I had contracted with my publishers, and which they had announced to the public in their prospectus, I had still to treat of the war in Spain, of the campaign of 1809 in Germany, of the Russian campaign of 1812, and that of 1813 in Saxony. I had collected valuable materials; but, as I have said in the first lines of these Memoirs, being no longer able either to read or write, and still less to study on the geographical and topographical maps the official reports of the belligerent parties, and the numerous accounts which have been published on these last campaigns, I was obliged to give up the continuation of my work, and to employ to the best of my power the leisure

and the faculties that remain to me in dictating these memoirs.

However severe my privation may be, they are compensated by the consolations which surround my old age, and I am bound to render thanks to Providence for having reached the port through so many storms and so many shoals. I will not say with one of our poets—

"Malheur à qui le ciel accorde de longs jours."

I have lost those that were the dearest to me, whom, in the usual course of nature, I should not survive; excellent friends have gone before me, and especially my brother Saint-Marcel, who was two years younger than myself, and who in the same career had attained the same rank as myself, and had been from childhood my faithful companion. But, in short, since such is the common lot, we ought, even to the end of life, amidst so many illusions, when so many realities, so many hopes escape us, to attach ourselves more strongly to what remains to us, and as a wise man has said, "*bien vivre sa vie!*"

Paris, *December*, 1836.

You know, my dear Christian, for I have often conversed with you on the subject, the reasons which have dissuaded me from following the advice and the example of my illustrious friend the late Count de Ségur, and from publishing during my lifetime, as he did with so much success, my recollections and my testimony relative to the events in which I bore a part, during periods so full of memorable facts at the end of the eighteenth and the commencement of the nineteenth century.

If I had had the foolish pretension to fix on myself the attention and the interest of the public; if I could have believed that the very secondary parts which I filled in this great drama of revolutions gave me a right, and imposed it on me as a duty, to make, as it were, my deposition before the tribunal of posterity in presence of my contemporaries; I should have been diverted from this resolution by witnessing the ordinary fate of such productions, the spirit of party discrediting truth, giving authority to falsehood, and cor-

rupting the elements of history. It is for you that I have dictated this biography; properly speaking, it is only the developement of my services; you alone will judge of the importance which the publication may have at some future time, and of its opportuneness. It might, perhaps, be a guide to public opinion, on some points of the history of the times in which I lived; perhaps, too, you will think that regard for the honour of my memory may oblige you to answer by the sincerity of my narration the calumnious insinuations, which the enemies of our liberties have spread in their writings, respecting my personal conduct on important occasions. I repeat it, without expressing any command or any wish in this respect, I rely entirely on your sound judgment, as well as on the purity of your sentiments.

You will undoubtedly, my dear son, find these biographical notes still incomplete, since they come down only to the end of the year 1826. I had then attained the age of seventy-three years. I considered my political career as terminated. The bodily strength and the mental activity that I still retained did not deceive me. I believed that I had fulfilled my task; I thought only of enjoying in my retirement the sweet consolations with which all our family, and especially your excellent and amiable sister and yourself, surrounded my old age. These consolations, of which I had much need after such cruel losses, could not but increase, thanks to your pious and tender care, till the last day that Providence should grant me.

I was far from expecting that the duration of its benefits would extend to the present time, the end of 1836, when I have reached my eighty-fourth year; far less did I expect, that brought back to the political stage, I should have to take a part in the great events that have filled this period of ten years. I have no thought of being the historian of them, even considering them only from the point of view in which I have been placed by my personal position, and by the duties which have been imposed on me, first as member of the chamber of deputies, then as principal cooperator, with the illustrious General Lafayette, in the reorganisation of the national guards of the kingdom, soon afterwards by my recall to the council of state, and lastly, by my elevation to the chamber of peers, I will continue to pay to our dear country, till the gradual and inevitable

extinction of my intellectual faculties, the tribute of my zeal, of my humble knowledge, and of my experience. I take to the chamber of peers and the council of state, a vote liberally constitutional and always conscientious; the indulgence of my young and learned colleagues cannot conceal from me the insufficiency of my powers.

If the loss of sight renders our steps uncertain and tottering, this privation of the most valuable of our organs weakens also the use of the faculties of the mind, even when we flatter ourselves with retaining them in all their integrity. The expression of the eyes is a necessary complement to speech, and when we cannot judge of its impression on our auditors, we no longer feel the same confidence in ourselves; we become more thoughtful, more reserved, more timid. As it is your arm that I prefer to guide my tottering steps, I desire likewise to find an aid, a moral support, in your understanding. I have sown, I have a right to reap. My time has passed away, it is now your turn, and for this reason, my dear son, I charge you with the care of collecting our common recollections in this last period. I take pleasure in thinking that you will fulfil the task with the same sincerity, the same simplicity, as I have endeavoured to do for the preceding periods. Since your return from the campaign in Spain in 1823, since your marriage, we have never separated. There is not a single circumstance of my public or private life of which you have not been witness, on which we have not communicated to each other our most secret thoughts.

If you determine on publishing these recollections, which should not be called by the ambitious title of Memoirs, you will of course read them over, and you will remark numerous inaccuracies; yet I wish that no change may be made, either in the substance or the style, and that in the eyes of the critics, whether of the errors which I may have committed, or of the negligence of my dictation, the entire responsibility may rest on me. Among these negligences there is a very important one, which you must take the trouble to repair; it is the division by epochs and precise dates, to which I ought to have confined myself, and which I have not always observed; it will be easy for you, with the assistance of the public documents, to determine the dates which may have escaped me, and to follow the chronological order without interruption.

If the long and difficult career through which I have passed has been marked by great and memorable events, that on which you have entered under my eyes will perhaps be no less fertile, no less stormy: may the close of it be as remote as that to which I have almost miraculously attained, and may you reach it as honourably as Providence has permitted me to do. Such are my last wishes; I shall have nothing to add to them but my last blessing.

THE END.